00031003

BOMBAY BRANCH
OF THE
ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY
TOWN HALL, BOMBAY.

Digitized with financial assistance from the
Government of Maharashtra
on 18 July, 2018

WALES.

LONDON: PRINTED BY
SPOTTISWOODE AND CO., NEW-STREET SQUARE
AND PARLIAMENT STREET

A

HISTORY OF WALES

DERIVED FROM AUTHENTIC SOURCES.

31003

BY

JANE WILLIAMS,

YSGAFELL,

AUTHOR OF 'A MEMOIR OF THE REV. THOMAS PRICE' AND EDITOR OF HIS LITERARY REMAINS.

LONDON:

LONGMANS, GREEN, AND CO.

1869.

00031003

PREFACE.

§ 1. The facts of this History, from the earliest period to the year 1066, are derived from the works included in the 'Monumenta Historica Britannica;'[1] from the 'Ancient Laws and Institutes of Wales,' edited by Aneurin Owen and published by the Lords Commissioners of the Treasury, under the direction of the Master of the Rolls; and from the Triads, Poems, and Genealogies preserved by the Welsh Bards. For the testimony of Sharon Turner to the historical value of the Welsh Triads and Poems, I must refer the reader to his 'Vindication of the Ancient British Poems.'

Of the Genealogies, Sir Francis Palgrave says:[1] 'Admitting that the British pedigrees must be employed with caution, they may yet be received as historical testimony.'

Of ancient Cambrian records altogether, Mr. Gunn[2] remarks, that he cannot perceive 'how we are justified in withholding from the traditions of our own country the faith we repose on those of distant ages, which, like them, were orally delivered, and on which so much of ancient history is founded.'

[1] Rise and Progress of the English Commonwealth, ed. 1832, p. 416.
[2] Preface to Nennius, ed. 1841, p. xxxix.

The dates, from the year 59 B.C. to A.D. 498, are derived from the Chronological Abstract prefixed to the first volume of the 'Monumenta Historica Britannica,' pp. 129–146. It is much to be regretted that Sir Thomas Hardy could not send forth, in the same volume, a Chronological Abstract of the Saxon Period. His 'Introductory Remarks on the Chronology of the Mediæval Historians in connection with the Chronological Abstract,' pp. 102–128, are valuable for the sake of a few clear statements concerning the dates of particular facts, and also because he points out the systematic causes of the marvellous discrepancies which occur in the dates given by different historians and chroniclers, and the inconsistencies which frequently clash even in one work. He considers that mediæval chronology was generally vitiated by the wrong use of the Diocletian tables. This was obviously the case, and erroneous calculations and the contemporary use of various periods for the commencement of the year multiplied and complicated the sources of confusion. It was not until after A.D. 891, that December 25 was commonly adopted as new year's day; and, towards the close of the tenth century, that usage gave way to another, which established March 25 as new year's day. This continued to be authorized in England until the twenty-fourth year of the reign of George II., when an Act of Parliament corrected the calendar according to the Gregorian principle, and appointed January 1, 1753, to be the first of a future series of English new years' days.

Gildas, the oldest British writer whose works are extant, mentions only one date, and that so ambigu-

ously, as to admit a doubt whether he meant to say that the battle of Badon Hill and of his own birth was forty-four years after the arrival of the Saxons, or forty-four years before his authorship.

Nennius, the British historian next in time to Gildas, gives dates, but scarcely any which are trustworthy.

The oldest Saxon writer extant, the venerable Bede, varies strangely sometimes in his chronology, and assigns three different dates to the first arrival of the Teutonic invaders.

The dates of the early parts of the Saxon Chronicle are open to correction, but I can find no better guide through the chronological intricacies of the period, A.D. 498–1154, than that chronicle affords.

From the year 1154, when the Saxon Chronicle ends, I have usually preferred the chronology of Florence of Worcester and his continuators, of Roger of Wendover, and of Matthew Paris, to that of Simeon of Durham and other English chroniclers.

Rhymer's Fœdera, and other authentic collections of deeds, documents, and letters, have greatly assisted my ascertainment of dates; all difficulties created by obsolete descriptions of particular days being smoothed away by the Glossary of Dates and Calendar of Saints' Days furnished by [1]Sir Harris Nicolas.

The Preface to the 'Monumenta Historica Britannica' attests that the chronicle entitled Annales Cambriæ 'forms the basis of the legitimate history of Wales,' and states that 'its notices throughout, though very brief, are highly valuable.'

Mr. Skene[2] limits his special estimation of this

[1] Chronology of History.

[2] The Four Ancient Books of Wales, vol. i. c. iii. pp. 38, 39.

chronicle to MS. A, which commences with the year 444, and ends with 954, having been compiled a century and a half before any of the other Bruts were written.

Although the practice of making decennial entries has sometimes misplaced events within such periods, the chronology of the 'Annales Cambriæ' is indeed highly valuable; and I have constantly rested upon it, from A.D. 444 to 1288, as a chief authority, comparing its dates with those of the Brut y Tywysogion and of English writers, and referring in difficult emergencies occurring between the middle of the first and the close of the seventh century to Rees's Welsh Saints, a judicious work, which conveys the result of a careful and critical examination of the ancient Welsh Genealogies.

§ 2. 'A cry over the abyss,' like that uttered by the unsuccessful claimant of Cymric land, might well be raised by students over many hopeless vacancies in Cymric history; and many an incident, variously set forth by conflicting chroniclers, remains, after laborious research and innumerable conjectures, a dark 'place of a hundred perplexities.'

From the reign of Trajan (A.D. 98—117) to the fall of the Western Empire (A.D. 476), I have gladly accepted guidance from the first thirty-eight chapters of Gibbon,[1] who has treated British authorities with exemplary candour, and recognized Ancient British valour with heart-stirring eloquence.

Turner, in his 'History of the Anglo Saxons,' scarcely does due justice to the intellectual culture of the Druids, though otherwise his account of the Ancient Britons

[1] Decline and Fall.

forms a well-balanced estimate of Classic and Cymraeg authorities, and I acknowledge my obligations to him for it. To Palgrave's admirable work, on 'The Rise and Progress of the English Commonwealth,' I am still more deeply indebted.

Various attempts have been made by previous writers to reconcile the statements of Tacitus and the native evidence on one side, with the assertion of Dion Cassius on the other, the former showing Caradog to have been a Silurian chief, the latter assuming that he was a son of Cunobelin. To me it appears that Dion, aware that Caradog succeeded Cunobelin in the sovereignty of Britain, though ignorant of his origin, and knowing Togodumnus succeeded his father Cunobelin in the tribal kingdom of the Trinobantes, was misled by the division of dignities into the erroneous notion that they were brethren.

Then, again, Cadwalader is a great historical difficulty. The 'Annales Cambriæ' say, 'A.D. 682. Mortalitas magna fuit in Britanniâ, in quâ Catgualart, filius Catguolaum, obiit.' MS. B. substitutes, for the last clause of the above sentence, the words 'pro quâ Catwaladir, filius Catwallaun, in Minorem Britanniam aufugit.' MS. C substitutes 'et Cadwallader rex Britanniam dereliquit, et ad Armoricam regionem perrexit.' The caligraphy of the MS. marked A, from which the text of the 'Annales Cambriæ' is printed in the M. H. B. and in Ab Ithel's complete edition, belongs to the close of the tenth, or to the beginning of the eleventh, century.

This MS. is supplemented by a paternal and maternal pedigree of Owen ab Howel Dda in the same hand-writing. Hence the editors infer that both were either

copied or compiled for Owen's use by his household bard; and, guided by the last entry in MS. A, Ab Ithel fixes its date at A.D. 954.

The Brut y Tywysogion in its earliest year, A.D. 681, states that 'Cadwalader the Blessed, son of Cadwallon, son of Cadvan, king of the Britons, died at Rome on May 12, as Myrddin had previously prophesied to Vortigern of repulsive lips; and thenceforth the Britons lost the crown of the kingdom and the Saxons gained it.' This Brut is attributed to Caradog of Llancarvan, who died some little time before the year 1152. MS. A of this Brut does not appear to be older than A.D. 1318. The different accounts of Cadwalader given by the first and by the two other MSS. of the Annales, and the decorated addition or alteration set forth in the Brut, might mislead lax inquirers either into acquiescence with the reiterated assertion that Cadwalader went to Britanny, or into an assent to the still bolder perversion, that he died at Rome. Nevertheless, the simple statement of the Annales in MS. A is strongly upheld by further evidence. Nennius testifies that Catgualart, king of the Britons, succeeded his father Catgublaun, and died at home of a dreadful pestilence.

Bede in his [2] 'Ecclesiastical History' relates the remarkable life of Cadwalla, 'a daring young man of the royal race of the Gewissæ who had been banished his country.' This Cadwalla, having gained the crown of Wessex, and pursued a fierce career of war and conquest, after a reign of two years, under a religious impulse abandoned all his earthly honours, went to

[1] Nennius, § 64.

[2] Book ii. c. xii.; book iv. c. xv. xvi.; book v. c. vii.

Rome, was baptized by the name of Peter, and died a few days afterwards, on April 20, 689, being about thirty years of age. Pope Sergius gave him a solemn funeral, and caused an epitaph to be written and placed upon his tomb. Bede gives a copy of the epitaph, and relates that Ina, being of the blood royal, succeeded Cadwalla on the throne of the West Saxons.

The Saxon Chronicle, under the years A.D. 685, 686, 687, and 688, records the principal facts of Cadwalla's life in accordance with Bede, but placing the king's death a year earlier.

Geoffrey of Monmouth,[1] bishop of St. Asaph (A.D. 1152–54), prolongs the life and reign of Cadwallon to the year 642; boldly identifies the Cadwalla of the West Saxons with the Cadwalader of the Britons; and says that his mother, the wife of his father Cadwallon, was the half-sister of Penda, king of the West Saxons; that a fearful pestilence caused Cadwalader and most of his surviving people to seek refuge in Britanny; that he was preparing to return, but forbidden by an angel, who commanded him to go to Rome; that he consequently went thither, was confirmed by Pope Sergius, and died there April 20, A.D. 689.

If we candidly pass judgment upon this narrative without allowing prejudice against Geoffrey to prevent the reception of truth at his hands, it appears extremely probable, from the well-attested[2] alliance of Penda and Cadwallon, that this account of Cadwalader's maternal origin is correct; that Geoffrey's authority had sufficient power over the scribes who, towards the close

[1] British History, book xii. c. xiv. xv. xvi. xvii. xviii.
[2] Bede, book ii. c. xx.

of the thirteenth century, wrote the MSS. B and C of the 'Annales Cambriæ,' to induce them to export the hero to Britanny; and that the same authority enabled Caradog of Llancarvan, Geoffrey's contemporary, to waft the same hero to Rome; but the attempted identification is an utter failure, for a man who died in 682, 688, or 689, at the age of thirty, could not be the son of a man [1]who was slain in 633, or [2]629.

Palgrave, Herbert, and Kemble acknowledge Cadwalla to be a British name; and Kemble remarks that Mol, the name of Cadwalla's brother, indicates one of mixed blood. Bearing this opinion in mind, perhaps the true solution of the problem may be approximately traced. Nennius mentions Catgabail[3] a king of Guenedot, who escaped with his army when other kings of the Britons were slain at Gai Campi. The pedigree of Owen ab Howel makes Tutgail the father of Rotri and the son of Catgualart. This Tutgail is called Edwal by Humphrey Lhwyd; and Dr. Powel suggests,[4] that Edwal is a corrupt form of the name Cadwalla, and that he who bore it reigned for a time over both the Britons and West Saxons, and then went to Rome and died there. This identification is not liable to any chronological objection, and agrees with the order in which the British kings are named by Nennius.

§ 3. Those readers who desire to know more of the history of the Welsh people may advantageously consult the authorities named in the margin, and other works to which those authorities will direct them.

[1] Bede, Eccl. Hist. book iii. c. i.

[2] Annales Cambriæ.

[3] Nennius, 64, 65; Annales Cambriæ, A.D. 656, 657; Bede, book iii. c. xxiv. A.D. 655.

[4] Historie of Cambria, ed. 1584, pp. 7–13.

In cases of conflicting evidence, I have given references to the best authorities on both sides, although the text records my own deliberate judgment, and the dimensions of this book forbid quotations and disquisitions.

The letters *j*, *k*, and *v*, being foreign to the Welsh alphabet, I have used in the spelling of Welsh words the native *i*, *c* hard, and single *f*, which are their equivalents in sound.

The Welsh *dd* is pronounced like the English *th* in breathe.

The Welsh *th* is pronounced like the English *th* in pith.

The Welsh *ll* is liquid, and nearly represented in sound by *lh*.

The Welsh *w* is pronounced like the English *oo* in the word too.

In the orthography of Welsh proper names, I have generally been guided by the Welsh Chronicles, Mediæval Documents in Rymer's Fœdera, Aneurin Owen, Ab Ithel, and Williams of Llancadwaladr.

J. W.

56 Coleshill Street: *October* 8, 1869.

CONTENTS.

CHAPTER.		PAGE
I.	The Cymry of Ancient Britain	1
II.	The Cymry and the Romans, B.C. 53—A.D. 54	17
III.	The Cymry and the Romans, A.D. 54—96	29
IV.	The Cymry and the Romans, A.D. 96—306	41
V.	The Cymry and the Romans, A.D. 306—411	55
VI.	The Cymry in the Fifth Century	67
VII.	The Cymry and the Saxons, A.D. 500—566	80
VIII.	The Cymry and the Saxons, A.D. 566—634	94
IX.	The Cymry and the Saxons, A.D. 634—819	108
X.	The Cymry, the Saxons, and the Danes, A.D. 819—915	119
XI.	The Cymry and the Saxons, A.D. 915—948	132
XII.	The Cymry, the Saxons, and the Danes, A.D. 948—1039	153
XIII.	The Cymry and the Saxons, A.D. 1039—1063	167
XIV.	The Cymry, the Saxons, and the Normans, A.D. 1063—1091	180
XV.	The Cymry and the Normans, A.D. 1091—1112	192
XVI.	The Cymry and the Normans, A.D. 1112—1137	215

CHAPTER.		PAGE
XVII.	The Cymry and the Normans, A.D. 1137—1169 .	234
XVIII.	The Cymry and the Normans, A.D. 1169—1194 .	263
XIX.	The Cymry and the Normans, A.D. 1194—1240 .	295
XX.	The Cymry and the Anglo-Normans, A.D. 1240—1246	337
XXI.	The Anglo-Normans and the Cymry, A.D. 1246—1276	352
XXII.	The Anglo-Normans and the Cymry, A.D. 1276—1282	396
XXIII.	The Anglo-Normans and the Cymry, A.D. 1282—1287	418
XXIV.	The Plantagenet Princes and the Cymry, A.D. 1327—1422	432
XXV.	The Plantagenet Princes and the Cymry, A.D. 1422—1485	459
XXVI.	The Tudor Dynasty, A.D. 1485—1603 . .	475
	APPENDIX	497
	INDEX	503

HISTORY OF WALES.

CHAPTER I.

THE CYMRY OF ANCIENT BRITAIN.

Love thou thy land with love far brought
From out the storied past, and used
Within the present, but transfused
Through future time by power of thought.—TENNYSON.

§ 1. IT has been well said that the memory of races,[1] like that of individual men, tenaciously and vividly retains the recollections of infancy, which become in each race the subjects of oral traditions and of songs and ballads, until at last they assume a mythic or symbolic form, presenting usually two different aspects, one exhibiting the migrations of the several tribes and their arrival in successive colonies; the other assigning to each race a paternal ancestor, whose name personifies that of the people, and from whom an ethnological genealogy connects their tribes as his children and the kinsfolk of each other.

The earliest British historian who treats of ethnology states that, according to Roman annals,[2] the Britons deduce their origin from the Trojans; and that according to another account derived from 'the ancient books of our ancestors'[3] and from 'ancient tradition,'

[1] Skene's Four Ancient Books of Wales, vol. i. c. vii. pp. 97-101.
[2] Nennius, § 10.
[3] Ibid. §§ 17, 18.

CHAP. I.

Alanus, a descendant of Japheth, was the first man who dwelt in Europe; that he had three sons, Hisicion, Armenon, and Neugo; that Hisicion had four sons, three of them being Romanus, Brittus, called also Briutus and Brutus, and Albanus; that from each of these sons sprang a distinct people, Brittus being the progenitor of the Britons, and Albanus of the Albans.

According to the native Triads,[1] the earliest inhabitants of Great Britain were the Cymry, who, after their own settlement in the island, admitted the Lloegrwys and the Brython at two successive periods to take possession of different parts of it.

Philological researches prove that these three nations had sprung from the same branch of the Celtic stock.[2] They spoke dialects of the same language, they observed the same customs, and united in upholding one religious institution.

The territories which they severally possessed were called Alban, Lloegyr, and Cymrû.[3] Alban lay northward of the Friths of Forth and Clyde. Lloegyr consisted of the midland, eastern, and southern parts of the island, together with the south-western peninsula,[4] Ictis, and the Cassiterides. Cymrû[5] included the south-

[1] These traditionary memorials may be found Myv. Arch. vol. ii. p. 57; Davies's Celtic Researches, pp. 153–156; Parry's Cambro-Briton, vol. i. pp. 45–50, vol. iii. pp. 133–137; Turner's History of the Anglo-Saxons, ed. vi. vol. i. book i. c. ii. p. 48; Thierry's Norman Conquest (Whittaker's ed.), pp. 1, 2; Ab Ithel's Eccl. Antiq. of the Cymry, pp. 5–7, 9.

[2] Historical Triads, 5; Prichard's Researches into the Physical History of Mankind; Prichard's Origin of the Celtic Nations (Latham's ed. 1857); Cambrian Journal, 1854, pp. 5–33; Skene's Four Ancient Books of Wales, vol. i. c. vii. and viii.

[3] Historical Triads, 2.

[4] Gibson's Camden's Brit. ed. 1772, p. 117; Lyell's Principles of Geology, ed. 1867, pp. 539–43.

[5] Skene's Four Ancient Books of Wales, vol. i. c. x. pp. 165–183;

ern part of North Britain, and the districts now known by the names of Northumberland, Durham, Cumberland, Westmoreland, the West Riding of Yorkshire, Lancashire, and Cheshire, besides the country which is now divided into the thirteen counties of Wales, and a broad margin of lands extending to the eastward beyond the lines of the rivers Dee and Severn, and comprehending parts of the present counties of Salop, Worcester, Hereford, and Gloucester.

Although the term Briton is said to have been locally attached to particular tribes, the Greeks and Romans, as well as the earliest native writers,[1] applied it generally to all the native inhabitants of the island, and in that sense it is commonly used throughout the present work. The Cymry appear to have been more intimately connected with the Lloegrwys than with the Northern Britons of Alban.

§ 2. The Lloegrwys and Cymry consisted of many distinct tribes,[2] and every tribe was locally established under its own Pencenedyl, a royal ruler whose office was hereditary in his family, but could only be retained by him while he continued in full vigour both of mind

Turner's Hist. of the Anglo-Saxons, vol. i. c. i.; Palgrave's Rise and Progress of the English Commonwealth, part i. c. x. and xiii. and elsewhere throughout; Palgrave's Hist. of the Anglo-Saxons quoted in Rees's Welsh Saints, pp. 203–205; Davies, On the Races of Lancashire, in Trans. of the Philological Society, December 7, 1855; Skene's Introduction to the Dean of Lismore's Book; Ab Ithel, Eccl. Antiq. of the Cymry.

[1] Nennius, History of the Britons, §§ 7, 9, 12; Bede's Eccl. History, book i. c. i.; Saxon Chronicle, Prelude, &c.

[2] Cæsar, De Bel. Gal. lib. iv. cc. xix. xxv. xxxiv.; Tacitus, Agric. c. xv.; Triad 57; Palgrave's Rise and Progress of the English Commonwealth, ed. 1832, part i. c. x. p. 75; Stillingfleet, Orig. Brit. ed. 1685, p. 65, (where he cites Diod. Sic. lib. iv.; Strabo, lib. iv.; Mela, lib. iii. c. vi.; Dion. Severus, &c.); Gibbon, Decline and Fall, ed. 1846, vol. i. c. i. p. 21; Archdeacon Williams, Claudia and Pudens, p. 47.

CHAP. I.

and body. A federal connection existed between the tribes, and their several kings met together at stated times in national convention. In case[1] of extensive warfare or foreign invasion, it was usual for the kings of both nations to elect one among them to hold for a term a military monarchy over all the rest, and this sovereign[2] of the kings of the tribes was called their Pendragon[3] or Gwledig.

The nearest kinsmen[4] of the royal families constituted the nobility of each tribe. They employed themselves in the sports of the chase, and in practising equestrian and chariot exercises with other warlike accomplishments.

From the royal and noble families the most intelligent, studious, and eloquent youths are inferred to have been selected and trained up as members of the Druidical class.[5] This class, chiefly by means of moral influence, controlled alike the kings, the nobles, and the people. It consisted of three orders.[6] The members of the first were more emphatically called the Druids, being at once the priests, the legal judges of civil and criminal causes, the chief councillors in affairs of state, and the living oracles of natural and moral philosophy. One of them resided in every cwmwd[7] to offer sacrifices and to instruct the people. Besides the portion of land to which every freeborn Cymro was

[1] Cæsar, De Bel. Gal. lib. v. c. ix.; Tacitus, Agric. c. xxvii.

[2] Tacitus, Ann. lib. xii. c. xxxvii.

[3] 'Dux bellorum.'—Bede, book iii. c. i.

[4] Cæsar, De Bel. Gal. lib. vi. c. xiv.

[5] Ibid. c. xiii.; Diod. Sic. Bib. Hist. lib. v. c. ii.; Davies, Celtic Researches, pp. 139–199.

[6] Diod. Sic. Bib. Hist. lib. v. c. ii.; Strabo, lib. iv. c. iv. § 4; Amm. Marcel. lib. xv. c. ix. § 8.

[7] Ab Ithel's Eccl. Antiq. of the Cymry, p. 30; Ancient Laws and Institutes of Wales, edited by Aneurin Owen for the Record Commission, folio ed. pp. 641, 649.

entitled and the immunities and privileges belonging to his class, this local priest could claim a contribution from every plough used in the hamlets of his cwmwd.

Executing[1] their judicial functions as subservient parts of their priestly office, they periodically offered up as holocausts convicted criminals, together with cattle and sheep, enclosed in a colossal frame of wicker-work. In political emergencies they occasionally had recourse to divination by the throes of a human victim slain with a sword; and holding the maxim that only man's life was equivalent to man's life, they sometimes offered up a human sacrifice, hoping thereby to prolong the days of a sick person.

The Druids declared the supremacy of one Almighty God, but believed in the existence of subservient deities,[2] and rendered especial honour to the sun and fire. They acknowledged the immortality of the soul, but looked forward to its endless transmigrations.[3] The theological and philosophical Triads imputed to the Druids by Greek and Roman historians and by national tradition prove them to have been studious, reflective, and sagacious sages, possessing a vast store of experimental knowledge,[4] acute in discerning, and earnest in pursuing intellectual and moral truth.[5]

[1] Cæsar, De Bel. Gal. lib. vi. c. xv.; Diod. Sic. Bib. Hist. lib. v. c. ii.; Strabo. lib. iv. c. iv. § 5; Tacitus, Agric. § 11, Ann. lib. xiv. c. xxx.; Davies's Myth. and Rites of the British Druids, p. 617.

[2] Cæsar, De Bel. Gal. lib. vi. c. xv.; Stillingfleet, Orig. Brit. ed. 1685, p. 57, where he quotes Origen in Ezek. Hom. 4.

[3] Cæsar, De Bel. Gal. lib. vi. xiii.; Pomponius Mela, lib. iv.; Lucan, lib. i.; Diog. Laer. Lives of the Philosophers (Bohn's ed.), proem. p. 7, and Pythagoras, lib. viii.; Toland, Hist. of the Druids, letter i. c. xiii. p. 82; Smith, Hist. of the Druids, ed. 1780, p. 18; Vindication of the Ancient British Poems, appended to Turner's Hist. of the Anglo-Saxons, ed. 6, vol. i. p. 633.

[4] Amm. Marcel. lib. xv. c. ix. § 8.

[5] Herbert, Neo-Druidic Heresy, p. 15; Archdeacon Williams, Gomer,

CHAP. I.

The members of the second Druidical order were called Bards.[1] To them were entrusted the arrangement and preservation of the family genealogies, upon which depended the descent and division of property. Facility in writing was more especially required for this purpose. They used an alphabet resembling the old Greek[2] characters in their records, which are said to have consisted of the coel-faen (token-stone),[3] the coelbren (token-stick), and the peithynen (elucidator). Poetry and music were the means which they employed to fix moral maxims in the memory,[4] to celebrate the praises of living heroes, to immortalize the worthy actions of the dead, and to enhance the influence of religious rites. Their harps and voices, set to the melodious rhythm and rhyme of their Triads, maintained the ascendency of the Bards over the feelings of a people susceptible in the highest degree of the pleasures of sound.

The third order consisted of disciples, many of whom were candidates passing through a course of twenty years' training[5] for the bardic and priestly orders. The others were medical herbalists, astronomers, geo-

part i.; Smith, Hist. of the Druids, pp. 60–76; Davies, Celtic Researches p. 184;. Pictet, Mystère des Bardes.

[1] Toland, Hist. of the Druids, pp. 60–66, 109; Smith, Hist. of the Druids, pp. 5–8.

[2] Cæsar, De Bel. Gal. lib. vi. c. xiii.; Ab Ithel, Eccl. Antiq. of the Cymry, pp. 32, 33. On the authority of Zeuss, Latham, in his edition of Prichard's Celtic Nations, p. 374, mentions among the most ancient Welsh MSS. the Codex Oxoniensis Prior, which contains the alphabet of the Coelbren y Beirdd.

[3] Waring's Recollections of Iolo Morganwg, appendix, pp. 186–195; Toland, Hist. of the Druids, letter i. c. xiii. pp. 83, 84; Davies, Myth. and Rites, p. 490; Davies, Celtic Researches, p. 272.

[4] Diod. Sic. Bib. Hist. lib. ii. c. ii.; Lucan, lib. i.; Cambrian Register, 1795, p. 396; Toland, Hist. of the Druids, pp. 188, 192; Davies, Celtic Res. p. 191; Davies, Myth. and Rites, p. 560.

[5] Cæsar, De Bel. Gal. lib. vi. c. xiii. Davies, Myth. and Rites, p. 44.

graphers, and practitioners of various ingenious and mechanical arts. Talents of every kind were thus appropriated according to their peculiar tendencies, and the ability of each individual was made to contribute to the aggrandizement of the Druidical class. Learners were prohibited from writing down their doctrinal tenets, in order that those tenets might be the more effectually impressed upon their own minds, while withheld, in an authentic and tangible form, from all persons not regularly set apart and schooled for initiation.

Over all the disciples, bards, and priestly Druids, an Arch-Druid held supreme authority.[1] He was invested with his office by the suffrages of his order, but the choice usually fell upon the ablest and most distinguished man among them.

The members of the whole Druidical class were exempt from the payment of tribute and taxes, and also from military service; they had a right to pass from place to place without molestation or hindrance, in times of war as well as in times of peace, and they could exact shelter and maintenance wherever they went.[2]

Their native tradition, preserved in the Triads, that the regions they inhabited were peopled gradually by the arrival of successive tribes, accords with probability; but the contradictory assertions of indigenous origin, a descent from Hercules, and from Pluto, may be traced to foreign sources.[3]

[1] Cæsar, De Bel. Gal. lib. vi. c. xiii.; Davies, Myth. and Rites, p. 185; Smith, Hist. of the Druids, p. 8.

[2] Cæsar, De Bel. Gal. lib. vi. c. xiii.

[3] Ibid. c. xvi.; Amm. Marcel. lib. xv. c. ix. §§ 4, 5; Theophilus Antiochenus, lib. ii. c. xlvi.; Justin, Hist. lib. xliv. c. iii.; Nennius, § 18.

CHAP. I.

§ 3. At the vernal and autumnal equinoxes, at the summer and winter solstices,[1] and at other stated periods, the Druids held solemn conventions in different localities, and, amidst the most sacred rites of their religion, assisted at councils of state, and administered the civil and criminal laws. The punishments by which they enforced their decrees were slavery, excommunication, and death.[2] Several forms of trial by ordeal[3] existed among their judicial institutions. Great Britain, even in the nineteenth century, still feels the influence of other parts of their legal system. The oral, unwritten law, delivered down from one generation to another by custom and tradition, appears to have been derived from the practice of the Druids. The partition of lands by the custom of gavelkind is certainly of ancient British origin, and so also is the division of the goods of an intestate person between his widow and children or next of kin. The old custom, which prevailed until recent times, of burning a woman found guilty of murdering her husband, is doubtless traceable to the same source.[4]

The efficacy of their medical plants was supposed to be enhanced by the time, the person, and the ceremonies attendant on the gathering.[5] Many flowers and herbs still growing wild in Wales, besides the oak and its rare

[1] Diod. Sic. Bib. Hist. lib. v. c. ii.

[2] Cæsar, De Bel. Gal. lib. vi. c. xiii.

[3] Ibid. c. xvii.; Palgrave, Rise and Progress of the English Commonwealth, edition 1832, part i. p. 234; Toland, Hist. of the Druids, pp. 112, 115; Smith, Hist. of the Druids, pp. 45–47; Ancient Laws and Institutes of Wales, edited by Aneurin Owen, published by the Record Commission, one vol. folio, 1841, p. 707.

[4] Stephen's New Commentaries on the Laws of England, edition 1853, vol. iv. lib. vi. c. xxvii. p. 525.

[5] Pliny, Hist. Nat. lib. xvi. § 95, lib. xxiv. §§ 62, 63; Toland, Hist. of the Druids, pp. 62, 108; Smith, Hist. of the Druids, p. 77; Davies, Myth. and Rites, pp. 291, 448.

mistletoe, bear names which allude to their Druidical use.

The Druidical temple[1] was a court of assembly for all public purposes. It consisted of a central space, occupied by a cromlech,[2] and paled in by unwrought stones set apart and erect at regular distances in concentric circles.[3] Near to these, an artificial mound was conveniently placed for oratorical purposes. Running water was a necessary adjunct,[4] and a fresh fountain-head was preferred to a stream. This structure, when it stood upon a plain, in a valley, or upon a hill, was always surrounded by a grove of oak trees, but in every situation the whole sacred enclosure was encompassed by earth-works. The impressive grandeur of barren mountain sites must have been found equivalent to the mysterious shade of woods, for upon the mountains, as well as upon the hills and plains, and in the valleys of Wales, may still be traced the remains of many temples. Some of them contain two sets of concentric circles within a few hundred paces of each other, and were probably encompassed by another circle from which colonnades extended in a snake-like form.[5] Llyn Sarph, beside Cwm Bychan, not far from Harlech, and Pen-Llwyn Sarph, in Monmouthshire, still indicate the probable sites of such temples. The arrangement of these megalithic structures, and the vast weight of many of the stones which compose them,

[1] Akerman's Archæological Index, § 6.

[2] Ibid. pp. 27, 28, and plate i.

[3] Ibid.

[4] Tacitus, Ann. lib. i. c. lxxix., and vi. xxxvii.; Gildas, § 4; Davies, Myth. and Rites, p. 161.

[5] Deane, Worship of the Serpent, pp. 240–253; and his Dissertation on Dracontia in the Archæologia for 1834, pp. 188–229, vol. xxv.; Davies, Myth. and Rites, appendix xi.; Forbes-Leslie, Early Races of Scotland and their Monuments, c. xvii. pp. 407–415.

CHAP. I.

evince the acquaintance of the builders with mathematical science and with the use of the lever, but antiquaries[1] are divided in opinion as to their origin.

The continental Gauls regarded Britain as the source and principal seat of their religion,[2] and all the inhabitants of Britain held the island of Môn (Anglesey) in similar or still greater veneration, as the abode of the Arch-Druid and the most secret sanctuary of their faith.

§ 4. By right of previous possession, by force of character, and by warlike strength, the Cymry asserted and maintained predominance[3] over the two other nations. Their south-western possessions were held by three populous tribes, the Demetæ, the Ordovices, and the Silures. The region of the Demetæ extended on its northern side to that of the Ordovices, on the south and west it was bounded by the Irish Sea and St. George's Channel, and on the east by the river Towy. The region of the Ordovices was enclosed on the north and on the west by the Irish Sea and the Channel, on the east by the territories of the Lloegrwys, and on the south by the mountain range of Plinlimmon. The region of the Silures extended from that same barrier, on its northern frontier, to the Bristol Channel and the Severn Sea on the southern coasts; the river Towy divided it from the Demetæ on the western side, and it stretched beyond the Severn towards the east.[4]

These Demetian, Ordovician, and Silurian regions

[1] Drayton, Polyolbion, Stonehenge; Lubbock, Pre-historic Times, pp. 57–59.

[2] Cæsar, De Bel. Gal. lib. vi. c. xiii.

[3] Palgrave, Rise and Progress, part i. c. xii.; Davies, On the Races of Lancashire, in Trans. of the Philological Society, Dec. 7, 1855.

[4] Bertram's Richard of Cirencester, lib. i. c. vi. §§ 21, 24, 25. See any good map of Roman Britain. The description in the text refers to the one contained in the Mon. Hist. Brit.

were traversed from east to west by ancient British trackways, one, now known as the Northern Watling Street, running through the place called by the Romanized Britons Caerlleon Fawr (Chester) to Caer Gybi, (Holyhead); another, called the Southern Watling Street, running from Pengwern (near Shrewsbury) to the Straits of Menai; the third, called the Rycnield Street, extending from Caer Gloui (Gloucester) to Menapia (St. David's); and the fourth, called the Akeman Street,[1] passing through Caer Went and Neath to Caermarthen.

§ 5. The Cymry built war-chariots,[2] wagons, and several other kinds of vehicles with wheels. They were admirably skilful in the training of horses, dogs, and hawks. They owned large herds of cattle[3] and swine, and large flocks of sheep. They made butter, if not cheese; they manured[4] their fields with marl; they raised corn and baked bread; they brewed[5] ale from malted barley, and prepared from honey their favourite festal beverages, mead and metheglin. They practised the arts of smelting, forging, and moulding

[1] Bertram's Richard of Cirencester, Bohn's edition, appendix i. pp. 472-500, and note * to p. 474; Whitaker's Hist. of Manchester, vol. i. pp. 105, 106; Hoare's Giraldus, edition 1806, vol. i. p. ci. note, and p. cxviii.; Sammes, Brit. Antiq. Illus. pp. 173–174 and 252; Palgrave's Rise and Progress, part ii. p. cxxxviii. Three of these roads are marked on the map of ancient Britain published by the S. for P. U. K.

[2] Cæsar, De Bel. Gal. lib. iv. c. xxii., xxix. lib. v. c. xv.; Strabo, lib. iv. c. v. § 2; Holland's Camden's Brit., edition 1637, p. 18.

[3] Cæsar, De Bel. Gal. lib. v. c. x.; Strabo, lib. iv. c. v. § 2.

[4] Pliny, Hist. Nat. lib. xvii. § 4; Whitaker's Hist. of Manchester, edition 2, vol. i. p. 280, and vol. ii. appendix i. p. 294; Quarterly Review, no. clxxii., art. Ancient Agriculture, pp. 188, 189; Daubeny, On Roman Husbandry, lect. iv. p. 134.

[5] Dioscorides, lib. ii. c. cx.; Ancient Laws and Institutes of Wales, published by the Record Commission; Cynddelw's Ode to Owen Cyfeiliog, and comment in Hoare's Giraldus, vol. ii. p. 213 and note; Higden, Polychronicon, ed. Record Commission, p. 398.

CHAP. I.

metals,[1] and also that of making glass, and they used turf, wood, and coal as fuel.

The art of coining[2] in Britain must, at the latest, be dated from the year 150 B.C. The most ancient of the native coins are of gold, and imitated with some intentional modifications from the stater of the second Philip of Macedon. The crown of the British kings is depicted upon some of the later coins as a plain band, or tiara, which bardic tradition and transmitted usage attest to have been of gold.

The Britons supplied such merchants[3] as visited their coasts with tin,[4] lead, iron,[5] silver, gold,[6] and pearls; with corn, cattle, hides, skins, and fleeces; with dogs[7] sagacious in hunting, and with slaves. They purchased from those merchants trinkets of ivory and of amber, glass vessels, and other articles of luxury; and the foreigners were impressed by the truthfulness,[8] integrity, and peaceableness of their habits and dealings.

They occasionally used large canoes[9] hollowed out from the trunk of a tree, but their common boat was the coracle[10] (cwrawg), shaped like the half of a walnut-

[1] Sir Henry James, Communication to the British Association at Bath, 1864; Pennant, Tours in Wales, ed. 1810, vol. i. p. 25; Whitaker, Hist. of Manchester, book i. c. ix. §§ 2, 3.

[2] Evans's Coins of the Ancient Britons, with plates by Fairholt.

[3] Cæsar, De Bel. Gal. lib. iii. c. viii.; Strabo, lib. iv. c. v. § 2.

[4] Cæsar, De Bel. Gal. lib. v. c. x.

[5] Herodotus, lib. iii. § 115; Diod. Sic. Bib. Hist. lib. v. c. ii.; Polybius, lib. iii. c. lvii.; Strabo, lib. iii. c. v. § 11; Pliny, Hist. Nat. lib. xxxiv. § 49, lib. iv. § 6, lib. vii. § 57; Solinus, Polyhist. c. xxiii.

[6] Pliny, lib. ix. § 57; Solinus, Polyhist. c. liii.; Tacitus, Agric. § 12; Suetonius, lib. i. c. xlvii.; Ælian, lib. xiv. c. viii.; Bede, book i. c. i.

[7] Strabo, lib. iv. c. v. § 3; Whitaker's Hist. of Manchester, pp. 69–76.

[8] Diod. Sic. Bib. Hist. lib. v. c. xxxviii.

[9] Archæologia, vol. xxvi. p. 25; British Museum, British Antiquities; Livy, lib. xxi. c. xxvi.; Gildas, § 19.

[10] Cæsar, De Bel. Civ. lib. i. c. li.; Herod. lib. i. c. cxciv.; Lucan, lib. iv.; Bohn's Giraldus, Topog. of Ireland, c. xxvi. and Descrip. of Wales, c. xvii.; Saxon Chronicle, an. 891.

shell, framed with wood and osiers, and covered with hides. Such vessels, slightly differing in materials, are still in use as fishing skiffs upon the lakes and rivers of Wales, and still propelled by the primitive paddle.

In battle, the warriors of each tribe, charioteers, horsemen, and infantry, formed together a distinct company,[1] each commanded by its own king.

They wore close trousers,[2] tunics, and short black cloaks, with boots of untanned leather, and cloth caps. Their hair was turned back from the forehead, and fell in large locks behind. Their chins and cheeks were shaven, but the hair of the upper lip grew long. In the fury of battle[3] they cast off their cloaks, and sometimes their tunics also, exposing their bare limbs, then stained with woad[4] for the purpose of rendering their appearance more terrible. Women and girls also dyed their persons when present at the sacrifices. The kings and nobles wore corslets,[5] girdles, armlets, and rings of gold, and a collar of the same precious metal was deemed an indispensable badge of high birth.

The people wore similar decorations formed of inferior metals.[6] Hair cut short and long beards are said to have distinguished the members of the Druidical

[1] Tacitus, Ann. lib. xii. c. xxxiii. xxxiv.; Cæsar, De Bel. Gal. lib. i. c. xli., lib. ii. c. xxiii., lib. iii. c. iv., lib. vii. c. xvii. xxiv. lxxviii.

[2] Polyb. lib. ii. c. ii.; Cæsar, De Bel. Gal. lib. v. c. x.; Diod. Sic. Bib. Hist. lib. v. c. ii.; Strabo, lib. iv. c. iv. § 3; Whitaker, Hist. of Manchester, book i. c. vii. § 5, and figures of coins there given; Sir S. R. Meyrick, Costume of the Ancient Britons.

[3] Polyb. lib. ii. c. vi.; Livy, lib. xxii. c. xlvi.

[4] Pliny, Hist. Nat. lib. xxii. § 2; Livy, lib. xxxviii. c. xxi.

[5] Polyb. lib. ii. c. ii.; Diod. Sic. lib. v. c. ii.; Strabo, lib. iv. c. iv. § 5; Xiphilin, Dion Cassius, Nero; Akerman's Arch. Index, p. 58, plates vi. and vii.; Livy, lib. vii. c. x., lib. xxxiii. c. xxxvi., lib. xxxvi. c. xl.; Plin. Hist. Nat. lib. xxxiii. c. vi.

[6] Herodian, lib. iii. c. xlvii.

[7] Toland's Hist. of the Druids, p. 59; Smith's Hist. of the Druids,

CHAP. I.

class.[7] The disciples wore long robes and hoods of a green colour; the Bards wore long robes and hoods of a sky-blue colour; the Druids wore long robes and hoods of white, symbolizing respectively hope, peace, and purity. The glain,[1] the crystal orb, and some other jewels, were mystic emblems worn only by the Druids. Their chief[2] is depicted in an ancient basrelief bearing a sceptre and crowned with oak leaves.

They made winter garments of fur and other skins. For mild weather they spun fine woollen yarn, dyed it of several colours with the juices of native plants, and wove it into cloth[3] marked with striped and checkered patterns. They also prepared felt from wool by pressure.[4]

The law of gavelkind, which prevailed among them, caused frequent alterations in the partition of the land included in each trêf (hamlet). The maen-hîr,[5] still standing in many solitary places, marked the limits of particular pastures. Their houses[6] were built of stones, wood, wattles, wicker-work, or turf, and roofed with slates, rushes, or straw, according to the materials most abundant in the neighbourhood; and they were

pp. 9, 10; Owen's Elegies of Llywarch Hên; Meyrick's British Costumes; Planche's British Costumes.

[1] Pliny, lib. xxix. § 12; Davies, Myth. and Rites, pp. 454, 510, 620, 621; Toland's Hist. of the Druids, pp. 51, 61, and 95; Herbert, Neo-Druidic Heresy, p. 61; Deane's Worship of the Serpent, pp. 249–252; Smith, Hist. of the Druids, p. 10; Mason's Caractacus, ed. 1819, p. 78, and p. 143, note.

[2] Montfaucon, L'Antiquité expliquée et représentée en Figures; Davies, Myth. and Rites, p. 277.

[3] Diod. Sic. lib. v. c. ii.; Livy, lib. vii. c. x.; Tacitus, Hist. lib. ii. c. xx.; Xiphilin, Dion Cassius, Nero, Dress of Boadicea.

[4] Pliny, Hist. Nat. lib. viii. § 73.

[5] Akerman's Arch. Index, § 2.

[6] Cæsar, De Bel. Gal. lib. v. c. x.; Diod. Sic. lib. v. c. ii.; Strabo, lib. iv. c. v. § 2, lib. iv. c. iv. § 3.

furnished with chairs, stools, and blocks of wood, with platters and baskets of finely wrought osiers, wooden bowls, and vases, jars, basons, and cups of pottery.[1]

All these things, together with weapons of war, implements of husbandry, and tools of trade, were of domestic manufacture.

In flat and undulating parts of the woodland country, the Cymry and other Britons used to make extensive enclosures with felled trees,[2] surrounded by high banks of earth and deep trenches, and within the circuit they built circular houses for themselves and sheds for their cattle. Such a fortified assemblage of slight structures[3] constituted a *caer*, being at once a town, a camp, and a fortress.[4]

In hilly or mountainous districts, the *caer* was usually set upon a precipitous height, defended by natural ravines and by ramparts hewn in the rock, or laboriously piled up of stones and earth. These encompassing banks and trenches were often circular or oval, but always curvilinear and following the outline of the rugged ground enclosed. Sometimes one rampart sufficed for security; sometimes two or three concentric series, having high intermediate escarpments, encompassed the *caer*; and often the part least difficult of approach was protected by a short, deep row or two of additional ramparts.

Cliffs and hillsides[5] were the usual burying-places of

[1] Whitaker's Hist. of Manchester, book i. c. ix. § 2, including figures of coins.

[2] Cæsar, De Bel. Gal. lib. v. c. xvii.; Strabo, lib. iv. c. v. § 2; Hoare's Introduction to the Itinerary of Giraldus, vol. i. p. cxl.

[3] Diod. Sic. lib. v. c. ii.; Strabo, lib. iv. c. v. § 2.

[4] Akerman's Arch. Index, § 8.

[5] Bertram's Richard of Cirencester, Bohn's ed. § 23, and note 6; Cambrian Register, 1796, p. 380; Whitaker's Hist. of Manchester, ed. 1772, vol. ii. pp 139–142.

CHAP. I.

the Cymry. The margins of the trackways, the banks of rivers, the sea-beach, and conspicuous points of hills and mountains, were often selected as resting-places for the more illustrious dead. Sometimes, the honoured corpse[1] having been consumed by fire, the ashes were deposited in a fictile vase;[2] sometimes it was placed entire, but folded down, within the cist-faen (stone-chest), which in either instance covered the remains. Over the cist-faen the retainers raised, with great skill and labour, a funeral mound[3] compacted of stones and earth. Many such mounds have outlasted, by at least 2,000 years, the memory of their occupants. They have been found to contain weapons, trinkets, and other articles of daily use, besides the calcined bones of men and animals.

[1] Cæsar, De Bel. Gal. lib. vi. c. 17.

[2] Akerman's Arch. Index, § 9, plates ii. and iii.; British Museum, British Antiquities.

[3] Akerman's Arch. Index, § 1, plate i.

CHAPTER II.

THE CYMRY AND THE ROMANS.

FROM THE INVASION OF JULIUS CÆSAR TO THE DEATH OF CLAUDIUS, B.C. 53–A.D.54.

Blest is that ground where, o'er the springs
Of History, Glory claps her wings,
Fame sheds the exulting tear.
WORDSWORTH: *Poems of the Imagination*, XLII.

§ 1. WHETHER the Cymry were among the Britons who assisted the Gauls in resisting Julius Cæsar, there is little historic evidence to show. Nor does it appear that any of the Cymric states were among those which, having learned from Gallic merchants that he intended to invade Britain, sent across the Channel ambassadors who came to him in Gaul, offering hostages and tributary submission,[1] with a view to avert at once his anger and his visit.

Fifty-five years[2] before the Christian era, Julius Cæsar first landed in Britain. The defeat of this expedition resulted from the valour and warlike prowess of the Cantii and other southern tribes,[3] aided by the ignorance of the Romans of the effect of spring-tides upon the British Channel.[4]

[1] Cæsar, de Bel. Gal. lib. iv. c. 19.
[2] Mon. Hist. Brit. Chronology, and the dates in Valpy's Classical Library, and Delphin Classics.
[3] Cæsar, de Bel. Gal. lib. v. c. 9–12.
[4] Ibid. lib. iv. c. 27; Strabo, lib. iv. c. v. § 3.

CHAP. II.

Cæsar came a second time in the following year[1] (B.C. 54), with an army more numerous and better equipped than that with which he afterwards conquered at Pharsalia; but Caswallawn (Cassivellaunus), who had been elected martial monarch of the Britons, conducted the defence of the country with such vigorous ability, that the Roman hero soon abandoned his attempt at conquest. He did not penetrate farther inland than the places now known as Kingston-upon-Thames and Verulam; and he probably saw no other parts of the country than those which now constitute the counties of Kent, Surrey, Middlesex, and Essex, with parts of Buckingham and Hertford.[2] A solitary passage in the record of a Roman historian[3] indicates that the Cymry assisted in repelling this invasion.

§ 2. During the reigns of the Emperors Augustus,[4] Tiberius, and Caligula, Britain remained unmolested, and the Romans and Britons became better known to each other than before by means of more frequent commercial transactions.

§ 3. In A.D. 43, the Emperor Claudius sent Aulus Plautius, the Prætor of Gaul, to invade Britain[5] with four legions, their cavalry and auxiliaries, amounting together to at least 50,000 men. In this emergency Caradog (Caractacus), king of the Silures, having been elected martial monarch[6] of all Britain, led the warriors of Lloegyr and Cymru against the invaders. After a battle, in which the Romans gained ground, Aulus Plautius found means to detach several states from

[1] Cæsar, de Bel. Gal. lib. v. c. 7.

[2] Ibid. c. 7–19; Hoare's Giraldus, ed. 1806, pp. lxxxv. and lxxxvi.

[3] Tacitus, Ann. lib. xii. c. xxxiv.

[4] Strabo, lib. iv. c. v. § 3; Dion Cassius.

[5] Suetonius, lib. x. c. 4; Dion Cassius, lib. lx. §§ 19–23.

[6] Triads, 17, 34, and 41.

the native confederacy. With their assistance and by force of arms, he won his way with much difficulty to the banks of the Thames, where he entrenched his army and awaited the arrival of the Emperor.

Claudius brought with him large reinforcements. He stayed only sixteen days in the island, during which time he was present, as an inert spectator, at a battle in which the fortress of Camalodunum was taken by Aulus Plautius. On the Emperor's return to Rome, he received for his exertions the honour of a triumph, and the title of Britannicus for himself and for his son, A. D. 44.

Meanwhile the Romans established a colony at Camalodunum (Colchester) and built a temple there, which they dedicated to Claudius. The rapacity, injustice, and cruelty of these colonists, and their contemptuous treatment of the native inhabitants, whose property they appropriated at pleasure, provoked deep and fierce animosity in the sufferers.

To Vespasian and one legion, Aulus Plautius committed the charge of controlling the maritime states of the southern and eastern coasts, while he led the remainder of his army to explore the interior of the country, endeavouring to exact from the inhabitants unresisting submission to the power of Rome, or else extorting it by force of arms. Caradog, with the Lloegrian and Cymric forces, continually watched the movements of the Roman commander and harassed his troops, sometimes attacking them by surprise and forcing them to engage in disadvantageous battles. After seven years of arduous and indecisive warfare, Aulus Plautius was recalled[1] by the Emperor Claudius,

[1] Dion Cassius, lib. ix. § 30.

CHAP. II.

A.D. 50; and Publius Ostorius Scapula, with the rank of Proprætor, was sent to Britain as his successor.[1]

§ 4. The short interval between the departure of one commander and the arrival of another sufficed to rekindle the patriotic hopes of the martial monarch of the Britons. It was winter, and trusting that a veteran general, to whom alike his army, his enemy, and the country were new, would not venture to enter upon a campaign at that unfavourable season, Caradog made a hostile irruption into the Lloegrian states of the southern coasts, which had submitted to become the allies and tributaries of Rome. Under the pressure of this constraint, and the influence of persuasion, the kings of these states, awakening to national and religious sympathies, already stood prepared to revolt and rise in arms, when the energetic promptitude of Ostorius enabled him to surprise and to expel the forces of Caradog. He followed their retreat,[2] and after encountering fierce and skilful opposition, fought a battle in which multitudes of the Cymry and of the free Lloegrwys were slaughtered. The confederated Britons then dispersed; and Ostorius returned towards the south, determined to take effectual precautions for averting future invasions of the Roman possessions in Britain. For this purpose he deemed it necessary to cut off all intercourse between the free states and those of his allies by means of a chain of forts, erected along a line of rivers from the tideway of the Severn (Sabrina) on the west to the mouth of the Nen (Aufona) on the east; thus sheltering his Britannia Prima[3] on the

[1] Tacitus, Ann. lib. xii. c. 31.

[2] Ibid. c. 32.

[3] The titles of Britannia Prima, Secunda, &c. are here and elsewhere prematurely applied, in order to afford the reader distinct notions of the territories gradually acquired by the Romans.

southern side from the Cymry and their confederates on the north by the intervention of a series of Roman garrisons.[1]

§ 5. Among the southern tribes, one, which inhabited the districts now known as the counties of Sussex and Surrey, was ruled by a native king named Cogidunus.[2] He had entered early into amicable relations with the Romans; and preferring ease, wealth, and delegated authority to a painful struggle for freedom, had become their willing accomplice in the enthralment of his fellow-countrymen. To reward his adherence and to increase his subservient capabilities of usefulness, Ostorius now added the states of several less compliant neighbours to his dominions.[3] In addition to these sagacious measures, the Proprætor strengthened the colony of Camalodunum upon the southern frontier of the Iceni, a brave and powerful tribe, inhabiting the districts now comprised in the counties of Norfolk, Suffolk, Cambridge, and Huntingdon, whom he thought it necessary to disarm. The Iceni had originally sought the friendship of the Romans, and knowing neither the humiliation of defeat nor the exhaustion of unequal conflict, they resolved to resist disarmament, and to break through the boundary line of forts which skirted a part of their northern frontier. The army of Caradòg had again taken the field, and was hovering in front of that line on which the legions were still labouring. Thus aggrieved, provoked, and encouraged, the Iceni, under their king

[1] Hoare's Giraldus, ed. 1806, pp. cxviii. cxix. with map of the fortifications.

[2] Stillingfleet, Orig. Brit. ed. 1685, p. 63; Archdeacon Williams, Claudia and Pudens, pp. 17–23.

[3] Tacitus, Agric. c. xiv.

CHAP. II.

Prasutagus, made choice of a strong position, and bade defiance to the Romans.[1] Ostorius led against them his auxiliary troops, and, after a protracted, valiant, and resolute struggle, the Iceni were vanquished.

The other disturbed states of the province being quieted by this disastrous event, Ostorius, leaving only disarmed tribes and well-tried friends behind him, issued forth with his army towards the west, to contend again with the martial monarch of the Britons. The Silurian Cangii, a sworn band of the choicest youthful warriors,[2] ever attendant on Caradog, hovered about the marching legions, harassing them at every turn, but avoiding a pitched battle, while Ostorius went on his way, plundering and devastating the fair fields of central Britain, until he appears to have crossed the present county of Chester, and nearly approached the estuary of the river Mersey.

The Brigantes,[3] a powerful tribe of the northern Cymry, alarmed at the vicinity of the Roman army, and acting in concert with Caradog, arose in arms at this conjuncture, under their queen Aregwedd Foeddawg (Cartismandua) and her warlike husband Venutius. At the news of this insurrection, Ostorius hastened to encounter his new opponents upon their own ground. He overcame the Brigantes in battle with great slaughter, and subsequently received the submission of the survivors, pardoned their brave efforts against enslavement and admitted their sovereign to the privileges of a Roman tributary.

[1] Tacitus, Ann. lib. xii. c. xxxi.

[2] Livy, lib. ix. c. 40; Plut. in Sert. 14; Cæsar, de Bel. Gal. lib. iii. c. 23; Tacitus, Manners of the Germans, xiii. xiv.; Herbert's Brit. after the Romans, Introd. p. xiii.

[3] Tacitus, Ann. lib. xii. c. 32.

§ 6. Having thus detached the Cymry of the north from the Cymry of the west, Ostorius led his army into the country of the Silures,[1] the inheritance of Caradog, martial monarch by election of all Britain.

That illustrious Cymro despised all Roman offers of alliance as mere allurements to slavery. No superiority of numbers could overawe his courage, no advantages of warlike weapons,[2] accoutrements, and mechanical appliances could weaken his resolution. From the incessant toils of nearly nine years' warfare,[3] his genius had acquired military experience without losing its inventive freshness. He ever arose elastic from defeat, to contend with renewed vigour for freedom.

The hostile progress of the armies of Ostorius and Caradog may still be traced through the county of Hereford by a series of British fortresses and an opposed series of Roman intrenchments.[4] To save that fertile region from farther devastation, and to gain the advantage of a very strong position, Caradog fell back northward upon the rough border land of the Ordovices. His name is still attached to many separate and distant fortresses, which were doubtless at one time or another garrisoned by the forces of the Cymric hero; but the Roman historian's graphic description of Caradog's last battle-ground[5] can only be identified and realized by those readers who have explored the wild hills and streams of the district wherein the edges of Herefordshire, Radnorshire, and Shropshire unite. The in-

[1] Tacitus, Ann. lib. xii. c. xxxiii.; Gwyr Essyllwg, or Syllwyrwys, Men of the fair or open country.

[2] Polybius, lib. ii. c. ii.; Cæsar, de Bel. Gal. lib. i. c. xx.; Livy, lib. xxxviii. c. xxii.; Tacitus, Ann. xii. c. xxxv.

[3] Beginning A.D. 42.

[4] Archæologia Cambrensis, new series, No. xviii. April 1854, p. 93; Hoare's Giraldus, ed. 1806, vol. i. p. ci. note.

[5] Tacitus, Ann. lib. xii. c. xxxiii.

CHAP. II.

trenchments of Caer Caradog and Coxwall Knoll,[1] situated upon and among the rugged heights rising northward of the river Teme to an elevation of more than 1,400 feet, evidently formed the citadel and outworks of a stronghold so nearly impregnable as to justify the hopes of an experienced general, versed in all the stratagems of British warfare and thoroughly acquainted with the country, that there, if anywhere, the Roman legions might be successfully withstood. From Brandon Camp,[2] a few miles off, on the southern side of the Teme, Ostorius watched the movements of the British host, and planned his attack.

The usual army of Caradog had been inferior in numbers to that of his adversary, but having established his head-quarters at Caer Caradog, it received reinforcements of warriors from many of the confederated states,[3] whose kings still trusted in the ability and prowess of a monarch who had seventy times opposed the Romans in arms. These royal leaders, animated by the eloquent adjurations of their chief, bravely to repel the advancing Romans, appealed in turn to their charioteers, horsemen, and other warriors, by every motive most potent to excite the feelings of brave and generous hearts, the example of their forefathers, the preservation of their homes from desecration, and the deliverance of their country from foreign oppression.[4]

[1] The ground has been personally explored by the writer, and the following authorities confirm her opinion: Cæsar, de Bel. Gal. lib. vii. c. lx.; Gibson's Camden's Brit. ed. 1772, vol. i. p. 471; Sir Roderick Murchison's Speech delivered at the Meeting of the Cambrian Arch. Society, held at Ludlow in August 1852; Hoare's Giraldus, ed. 1806, vol. i. p. ci. note, and pp. cii. ciii.; Duncumbe's Hist. of Herefordshire; Arch. Camb. new series, No. xi. July 1852, pp. 203–208, and the map annexed; Pennant's Tours, ed. 1810, vol. iii. pp. 271–273.

[2] The Bravinum of Antoninus.

[3] Triad, 41.

[4] Tacitus, Ann. lib. xii. cc. xxxiii. xxxiv. xxxv.

All that resolute and able men could do was done on that day by the Britons. Ostorius was constrained to put forth all his strength, but at last he gained a victory so decisive, that the wife, daughter, and brothers of Caradog became his prisoners. That hero, still hoping to obtain better results from future contests, fled to the Cymry of the North, and claimed hospitality from his kinswoman the Queen of the Brigantes.[1] She received him with feigned kindness, and, eager to ingratiate herself with the Romans, betrayed his confidence, and sent him bound with chains to Ostorius. Thus fettered, A.D. 51. to his conqueror's disgrace, Caradog and his family were led in the triumphal procession of Claudius through the streets of Rome, the Emperor and the people alike exulting in the captivity of a warrior whose fame had spread all over Europe. The Roman senate recognized the victory as an event of parallel importance with the capture of Syphax and of Persius, whom Publius Scipio and Lucius Paulus,[2] in times when the highest honours of successful generals were not appropriated by an emperor, had in like manner paraded at their chariot wheels. Triumphal ornaments were sent on this occasion to Ostorius, who followed up his military success by establishing a standing camp in Siluria, and planning a chain of fortresses to be erected there for the security of his former and present acquisitions of territory. Supposing this camp to have been fixed at Caerleon ar Wysc (Isca Silurum), it is probable that the intended fortresses would have extended westward from thence to the sites of the present towns of Caerdiff, Neath, and Swansea, and eastward to Caerwent, joining near Caerglaui (Gloucester) the similar line with which he had previously protected the Britannia Prima.

[1] Tacitus, Ann. lib. xii. c. xxxvi. [2] Ibid. c. xxxviii.

CHAP. II.

§ 7. Provoked by these stern efforts to enslave them, the fellow-countrymen of Caradog again took the field. Suddenly surrounding the legionary cohorts to which the execution of the obnoxious plan had been committed, they slew the commander, eight centurions, and many of the bravest soldiers; nor would a single Roman have escaped alive from the encounter, but for the arrival of timely succours.

The Silures, encouraged by this success, attacked soon afterwards a foraging party, which, together with the detachment sent to support it, they quickly put to flight.

Exasperated by the indomitable spirit of this people,[1] Ostorius forgot for a moment his ordinary self-command, and vehemently exclaimed that he would extirpate their very name from the earth, like that of the German Sigambri, who had been transported into Gaul. The report of this threat aroused the fiercest wrath in the Silures, who fought henceforth not only for freedom but also for existence. Ostorius speedily sent out the light-armed cohorts against them, but these were on the point of suffering a defeat, when the legionaries coming up obtained a drawn battle.

The indefatigable Silures, whether mustering in bands of their own accord, or called forth in array by the nobles of their tribe, were ever on the alert, intent, hand, heart, and soul, to take every possible advantage of their detested invaders. Two auxiliary cohorts, prowling for plunder, under the orders of their rapacious officers, falling into an ambush and being made prisoners, the Silures distributed them and their spoils as presents among the neighbouring states,

[1] Tacitus, Ann. lib. xii. c. xxxix.

and thus successfully incited those states to renew the confederacy which Caradog's captivity had dissolved.

At this conjuncture, Publius Ostorius Scapula, worn down by ceaseless exertion, and harassed, disappointed, and discouraged by these reverses, sunk and died beneath the burden of Silurian warfare.

§ 8. The hope of relieving Britain from oppression was encouraged not only by this event but also by violent disturbances among the Cymry of the North.[1] Cartismandua, Queen of the Brigantes, had derived large accessions of wealth and power from her act of treacherous subservience to the Romans. Venutius, her husband, a prince of the Brigantes and a distinguished warrior, had, apparently for her sake and under her influence, submitted to pay tribute to the Romans, and permitted the betrayal of Caradog into their hands; but when Cartismandua forsook him for his javelin-bearer, that outrage rent asunder at once all the ties which had bound him to her and to them. The Brigantes rose in arms at his call, and the Silures hailed with joy, as the martial successor of Caradog, the man who ranked next to him in military fame.[2] He led his forces against the legion which occupied the standing camp at Caerleon, and Manlius Valens, who commanded it, harassed to desperation, and anxious for distinction, risked the issues of a battle in which he was defeated by the pre-eminent valour of the Silures. Having thus got rid of the standing camp and the threatened line of fortresses, those valiant warriors still kept the field, and made frequent predatory excursions into the Roman settlements. Cartismandua, having received military assistance from the Romans,

[1] Tacitus, Ann. lib. xii. c. xl.

[2] Ibid. c. xl.; Tacitus, Hist. lib. iii. c. xlv.

CHAP. II.

seized by stratagem the brother of Venutius, and Venutius hastened back to wrest from her the sovereignty of the Brigantes, and secured it by the subsequent defeat of a legion which had marched against him under Cæsius Nasica.

§ 9. The arrival of Aulus Didius[1] (A.D. 51), the general appointed to succeed Ostorius, did not essentially alter the condition of British affairs; for that veteran, content with the laurels gained in other countries, had now no farther ambition than the maintenance of things as he found them, and the insignificant extension of a few boundaries. He thus checked the incursions of the Silures, without renewing the ineffectual attempt of his predecessor to subdue their country. In A.D. 54 the Emperor Claudius died.

[1] Tacitus, Ann. lib. xii. c. xl.

CHAPTER III.

THE CYMRY AND THE ROMANS.

FROM THE ACCESSION OF NERO TO THE DEATH OF DOMITIAN, A.D. 54-96.

> The Julian spear
> A way first opened, and with Roman chains
> The tidings came of Jesus crucified;
> They come, they spread, the weak, the suffering hear,
> Receive the faith, and in the hope abide.
>
> WORDSWORTH: *Ecclesiastical Sonnets*, part i. 3.

§ 1. It appears probable that all the members of Caradog's family were sent with him to Rome, and detained there during seven years, and that he was released with them from captivity[1] at the expiration of that term. The Welsh genealogists assign three children to that hero, who all of them became subsequently distinguished personages; two sons, Cyllen and Eudaf, and a daughter called Eigen.[2] Peaceful obscurity overshadows the remainder of Caradog's life; but his father, Brân ab Llyr, surnamed Fendigaid, proved, on his return to Siluria, according to the Welsh Triads,[3] the greatest of his country's benefactors.

Their sojourn at Rome had, in part, been contemporary with that of St. Paul. Great probability,

[1] Alford, Ann. Eccles. 53, No. 7 in Stillingfleet, Orig. Brit. ed. 1685, p. 44; Bp. Burgess's Tracts on the Ancient British Church, pp. 24, 131, 132, and Note*, p. 135; Ab Ithel, Eccl. Antiq. of the Cymry, p. 63, where the genealogy of Iestyn ab Gwrgant is quoted in proof of Caradog's return.

[2] Dion Cassius, M. H. B. p. xcv.

[3] Rees's Welsh Saints, pp. 79-82.

CHAP III.

therefore, attaches to the assertion, that Brân and his granddaughter were Christian converts, and that the aged King of the Silures brought home with him four Christian missionaries, Ilid, Cyndaf, and Mawan, men of Israel; and Arwystli Hên, a man of Italy.[1] The latter has been identified with the Aristobulus of Rom. xvi. 10, who, according to the Greek martyrology, was ordained a bishop of the Britons by the great Apostle of the Gentiles.

Historic testimony confirms the fact that Christianity was about this time[2] introduced into Britain, but while it early won its gentle way, gaining gradual influence over individuals, the great conflict between the temporal oppressors and the oppressed raged with renewed intensity.

§ 2. A.D. 57. The Emperor Nero recalled Aulus Didius Gallus, and sent Didius Veranius, a strict disciplinarian, in his stead. The new commander maintained the previous condition of affairs, held the Britannia Prima in subjection, continued the war against Venutius, and also made some incursions upon the territory of the Silures; but death put a stop to his career within a year after his appointment.

§ 3. A.D. 58. His successor was Caius Suetonius Paulinus, a distinguished and ambitious general, of great ability in war, but deficient in that conciliatory disposition which is necessary to transform vanquished foes into friends. During two years he waged a suc-

[1] Stillingfleet, Orig. Brit. pp. 44, 45; Bp. Burgess's Tracts on the Ancient British Church, pp. 55, *et seq.*; Rees's Welsh Saints, § iv.

[2] Menol. Græc. M. H. B. p. cii.; Chrysostom. M. H. B. p. xcviii.; Theodoret, M. H. B. p. c.; Gildas, § 8; Stillingfleet, Orig. Brit. p. 35; Bp. Burgess's Tracts on the Ancient British Church, pp. 47–54, and pp. 182–189; Cave, Lives of the Apostles, Cary's ed. 1840, p. 300 and Notes; pp. 424, 425 and Notes.

cessful war, and brought into subjection several states, which appear to have been those of the Coritani and Cornavii, occupying the present site of the counties of Derby, Nottingham, Lincoln, Stafford, Leicester, Rutland, Warwick, part of Worcestershire, and part of Cheshire. Across the northern frontier of this territory, Suetonius set a chain of well garrisoned fortresses, extending from the estuary of the Mersey on the west to that of the Humber on the east; thus forming a barrier against the Brigantes, whom he was compelled to leave unmolested under their valiant king Venutius; and overawing the newly conquered Coritani and Cornavii, who had already a similar chain of Roman fortresses upon their southern frontier. The experience of these campaigns convinced Suetonius that the resistance of the Lloegrwys and other Britons to Roman domination was continually incited and sustained by the Druids. Not content with slaughtering as many of them as fell in his way, he consequently resolved to exterminate the class[1]; and, as the most direct means towards the attainment of that end, to seize upon Môn (Anglesey), their chief sanctuary and the abode of the Arch Druid. In pursuance of this intention, Suetonius turned his back upon the newly conquered regions, and led his army across the country of the Ordovices to the eastern edge of the Menai Straits.[2] Encamping near the site of the present town of Caernarvon, he waited for a large number of flat-bottomed boats to be prepared. In these he promptly embarked the infantry, while the cavalry passing through the fords and shallows at low water, advanced simultaneously to attack

A.D. 61.

[1] Tacitus, Ann. lib. xiv. c. 29, 30.

[2] Pennant's Tours in North Wales, ed. 1810; vol. ii. p. 111; vol. iii. p. 12; Archæologia Cambrensis, July 1867, p. 282.

CHAP. III.

the Cymric warriors who stood arrayed upon the sacred shore.[1] Persons acquainted with the locality may vividly realize the impressive scene. The Druids, in their robes of state, forming a majestic company, arranged apart, and elevated above their military defenders, with eyes and arms upraised, solemnly chanted forth sonorous imprecations devoting Suetonius and his army to destruction. Druidesses[2] rushed through the serried ranks of warriors, their dark mantles and long hair flying upon the wind, while trails of flame from the torches which they carried were gleaming down upon stern visages, and lighting up the shadowy background of venerable woods.

The enthusiasm of the British troops became intense, while the Romans, appalled and paralyzed, shrunk back in helpless awe. The exhortations and reproaches of their leaders at last dispelled their panic, and following their general and their worshipped standards,[3] they furiously rushed in overwhelming numbers upon their brave and desperate opponents. The Roman sword spared none in that encounter. Druids were forced back upon their own flaming altars; warriors, Druidesses, old men, feeble women, and children, all perished. The sacred groves were felled, burned, and uprooted; and the work of havoc was pursued until the fertile island of Môn lay ruined and desolate beneath the trampling feet of Suetonius and his legions.

§ 4. Meanwhile injustice, violence, and brutal outrage, prompted and countenanced by the rapacious Caius Decianus, the procurator of that part of the

[1] Tacitus, Ann. lib. xiv. c. xxx.

[2] Smith's Hist. of the Druids, p. 11; Lucan, lib. i. v. 451; Plut. Crassus.

[3] Tacitus, Ann. lib. i. c. xxxix. lib. xv. c. xvi. xxiv. xxix.; Hist. lib. iii. c. x.

province afterwards called Britannia Prima, aroused Boadicea (Buddig) and her Icenian warriors to take arms.[1] The spoliation and licentiousness of the depraved colonists of Camalodunum and their flamens had long before prepared the Trinobantes for revolt.[2] Fellow-feeling in fellow-suffering had excited nearly all the states of the province to enter into a secret league of correlative action with those which had recently been conquered. Cogidunus was the only British king whose interests and inclinations really attached him to the Romans. The Brigantes, the Silures, Ordovices, and Demetæ were all at open enmity with the invaders. A general insurrection of the Lloegrwys having been resolved upon, the news of Suetonius's expedition to Môn superadded religious fervour to the sense of national and personal wrongs, while it laid open a ready way to fearful retribution. The events of this great confederacy[3] do not lie within the scope of the present history. Intelligence of the revolt reached Suetonius in Môn, and leaving the ravaged island to its fate[4]—soon to be reoccupied by Druids and Cymry—he led his army with the greatest possible speed into the Britannia Prima. There he found the colony of Camalodunum utterly destroyed, the infantry of the 9th legion cut to pieces, its leader, Petilius Cerealis, with the remnants of the cavalry besieged in an entrenched camp, the garrisons of several fortresses exterminated, and Catus Decianus, the pro-

CHAP. III.

[1] Tacitus, Ann. lib. xiv. c. xxxi. [2] Ibid.

[3] Ibid. lib. xiv. c. xxxii. xxxiii.; Dion Cassius, Nero.

[4] Compare Tacitus, Ann. lib. xiv. c. xxx. last paragraph with the first sentence of c. xxxviii. and with Agric. xviii., where, after relating the subjection of the Ordovicean state, the historian mentions the measures taken by his hero to subdue Môn.

CHAP. III.

curator of the province, a fugitive seeking refuge in Gaul from the fury of the exasperated people.

Not venturing to pause and protect London,[1] Suetonius passed through that city into the territory of King Cogidunus, whose steadfast adherence to the imperial cause at this conjuncture saved the whole army from destruction. Waiting only until it was augmented by the 14th legion, the veterans of the 20th, and the auxiliaries called in from garrisons and stations far and near, the Roman general then took the field, and defeated Boadicea in a great battle, which terminated in the death of the Icenian queen, and a vast promiscuous massacre of men, women, children,

A.D. 61.

and cattle.[2] Reinforcements, comprising 2,000 soldiers to fill up the 9th legion, 8 auxiliary cohorts, and a thousand horse, soon afterwards arrived from Germany, and were employed by Suetonius in assisting his other troops to devastate the country with fire and sword.[3] The Lloegrian states offered no submission, as they used readily to do after defeat in former wars. Their vanquished warriors expected and asked for no quarter; and those who escaped without being slain or captured continued in arms, still resolute for liberty, though contending at once against famine and the Romans. After a time it became evident to the Emperor Nero, that the hideous cruelties of Paulinus Suetonius amounted to impolicy.

Advantage was therefore taken of a casual shipwreck, as to which the Proprætor was blameless; and, on this trivial pretext, Britain was relieved from the presence of the most ferocious and relentless of her Roman oppressors.[4]

[1] Tacitus, Ann. lib. xiv. c. xxxiii. Ibid. c. xxxviii.

[2] Ibid. c. xxxiv.—xxxvii.

[4] Ibid. c. xxxix.

CHAP. III.

§ 5. Petronius Turpilianus, his successor, was indolent, and anxious to avoid every act which might provoke the Britons. Under his mild and conciliating government, the tranquillity of the Britannia Prima was restored; but peaceful intercourse with profligate strangers tended to corrupt and enslave the native inhabitants with vices far more enthralling, debasing, and odious than even the most abject form of political subjection.[1] A.D. 62.

The next Proprætor of Britain, the plausible and despicable Trebellius Maximus,[2] owed his appointment to Nero, and held it after that emperor's death (A.D. 68), during the brief reigns of Galba and Otho (A.D. 69). Under that of Vitellius, he fled from the province, and from his mutinous army to the emperor, while the commanders of the legions (and more especially Roscius Cælius of the 20th) quietly upheld the imperial authority at their several stations.[3] A.D. 65.

§ 6. Up to this stormy time, when the Roman world formed an arena for contending emperors, Venutius[4] still continued to harass the invaders of Britain with occasional hostilities, which were at last so opportunely raised as to affect the interests of the competitors.[5] To have captured, to have subdued, or even to have worsted so formidable an opponent, would assuredly have rendered any Roman general famous. From no farther mention being made of him in history, where the valiant deeds of his Brigantes are recorded, it may consequently be assumed that he passed away unvanquished.[6]

[1] Tacitus, Agric. c. xvi.
[2] Ibid. Hist. lib. i. c. lx.
[3] Ibid.
[4] Ibid. lib. iii. c. xlv.
[5] Ibid. lib. i. c. lix. lxi.
[6] Milton, Hist. of Britain, book ii.

CHAP. III.

At this conjuncture, the destruction of the Capitol at Rome by fire[1] greatly excited the minds of the imaginative and reflective Druids. With a combination of enthusiastic rapture, acute observation, and political foresight, they strove to encourage a Gallic insurrection, uttering the remarkable prediction, that power and dominion were destined to circulate round the world, and must in turn be possessed by the nations westward of the Alps.[2]

A.D. 69. § 7. Vectius Bolanus,[3] the next Proprætor, was appointed by Vitellius, and prudently lived on good terms both with his own troops and with the natives, until recalled to Rome on the accession of Vespasian (A.D. 70). Petilius Cerealis, his energetic successor,[4] put an end to the repose which the Cymry had enjoyed ever since the departure of Suetonius. The campaign opened suddenly with a furious attack upon the Brigantes, who manfully sustained the shock, and during two succeeding years fought many bloody battles with alternations of victory and defeat. The fame of having carried a devastating war into a once impenetrable region greatly raised the reputation of Cerealis. His able successor, Julius Frontinus, bent upon rivalling
A.D. 75. this achievement and signalizing his own prowess, fulfilled his ambitious aspirations, in the course of his five years' command, by effecting, with extreme difficulty, the temporary subjugation of the long indomitable Silures.[5] On the recall of Frontinus, and previous to the arrival of his successor, the watchful Cymry seized

[1] Tacitus, Hist. lib. iii. c. lxxi. lxxii.; lib. iv. c. liii. liv.
[2] Ibid. lib. iv. c. liv. [3] Ibid. lib. ii. c. xcvii.; Agric. c. xvi.
[4] Tacitus, Agric. c. xvii.; Hist. App. lib. v. c. ii.; Josephus, De Bel. Jud. lib. vii. c. iv.
[5] Tacitus, Agric. c. xvii.

upon the earliest possible opportunity of attempting to regain their freedom.[1] CHAP. III.

The Ordovices, less closely garrisoned than the Silures, managed to surprise and to destroy a large party of cavalry belonging to the invaders. This exploit revived the hopes of the Cymry far and near, and they immediately took arms, while many Lloegrian tribes covertly calculated the probabilities of success which the character of the new Roman general might afford to another great national insurrection.[2]

§ 8. Cnæus Julius Agricola had previously served in Britain, under Suetonius, as a military tribune; under Bolanus, as commander of the 20th legion; and under Cerealis as a lieutenant-general.[3] A.D. 78.

Eminently fitted by nature, by maternal culture, by an education received at Marseilles, and by military and civil experience, for the command of armies and the politic government of states; sincere, faithful, and affectionate in his domestic connections, this courteous, upright, and inflexible man may be deemed a model of the highest form of Roman character. He now arrived in Southern Britain (A.D. 78) eager for renown, and actuated by the belief of his race, that Rome and the Romans possessed, by right of superior strength, the prerogative of sole and sovereign control throughout the earth,[4] and that all who resisted it were guilty of a crime deserving the punishment of death.

His first expedition[5] was directed against the Ordovices, and it ended in their subjugation. He next

[1] Tacitus, Agric. c. xviii.
[2] Ibid.
[3] Ibid.
[4] Ibid. Ann. lib. xiii. c. lvi.
[5] Ibid. Agric. c. xviii.; Pennant's Tours in North Wales, ed. 1810, vol. ii. p. 27.

CHAP. III.

attacked Môn, which had again become the populous sanctuary of the ever-active Druids. Surrender to an exhibition of overwhelming force now saved them from their predecessors' fate, but the island for the first time was secured by permanent garrisons as the inalienable property of the invaders. The Demetæ appear to have already shared the lot of the Silures, and these three celebrated states, extending from Caerleon Fawr (Chester) to the Severn Sea, and from the Irish Sea to the banks of the rivers Dee and Severn, subsided thenceforth into the Roman province, known in later years as the Britannia Secunda.

§ 9. In A.D. 79, the Emperor Vespasian died, and was succeeded by Titus, his eldest son, the destroyer of Jerusalem. Agricola, in his second campaign, overran the territories of his enemies. In his third he subdued the country as far as the Taus, which probably indicates the Solway Frith,[1] and there he set a series of garrisons. During his two next campaigns he completed the subjugation of the Ottadeni, the Selgovæ, the Novantes, the Damnii, and the Meætæ, and rendered his conquests permanent by a series of fortified stations across the isthmus extending from the Frith of Forth to the Frith of Clyde.[2]

The Emperor Titus died, A.D. 81, and Domitian, his brother, was his successor.

Agricola, in his sixth and seventh campaigns, passing beyond his outer[3] boundary, encountered and defeated

[1] Knight's Pict. Hist. of England, p. 45, citing Chalmers' Caledonia; Gibbon's Decline and Fall, Milman's ed. 1846, vol. i. p. 5, and Note.

[2] Compare Tacitus, Agric. c. xxii. xxiii. with the Geography of Claudius Ptolemy in the Mon. Hist. Brit. vol. i. pp. xii.—xv. with the Notitia in the Mon. Hist. Brit. pp. xxiii. xxiv. of the same volume, and with any good map of Roman Britain.

[3] Tacitus, Agric. c. xxii.

Galgacus and the Caledonians, and ravaged their country.[1] In these northern expeditions, he was accompanied and assisted by a select band of British auxiliaries, probably supplied by Cogidunus. The Roman fleet followed on the sea the coasting march of the army, and when that returned towards the south, and no longer required the conveyance of provisions for its subsistence, Agricola sent the fleet onward upon a voyage of circumnavigation, which, being effected, first convinced the Romans of the fact that Britain is an island.[2]

§ 10. Notwithstanding his frequent and cruel wars, the civil administration of Agricola first taught the Cymry and the other Britons to perceive that, under a just ruler, a time of peace involved less suffering than a time of active hostility. Hitherto, their passive miseries under merciless oppressors had exceeded the hardships attendant on revolt.[3] The Cymry, like the rest, were ever willing under subjection to pay tribute, to render laborious services, and even to furnish levies of recruits for the Roman legions in distant lands, but to be treated as despised and hated slaves they never, without resistance, would endure.[4]

Having soothed the feelings of the Britons by reforming flagrant abuses, Agricola proceeded to introduce among them the useful and decorative arts of polished life. Roman architecture, Roman literature, and Roman apparel consequently became fashionable among the native chieftains and kings.[5] He also commenced the formation of a series of Roman roads, in addition to the existing British trackways, which he improved,[6] and extended.

[1] Tacitus, Agric. c. xxv.–xxvii. xxix.–xxxviii.
[2] Ibid; Xiphilin, Dion Cassius, Domitian.
[3] Tacitus, Agric. c. xx.
[4] Ibid. c. xiii.
[5] Ibid. c. xix.–xxi.
[6] Sammes, Brit. Antiq. Illus. p. 151.

CHAP. III.

The Senate, directed by Domitian, decreed with eulogistic phrases triumphal ornaments to the conqueror of Britain;[1] but the rankling envy of that emperor soon afterwards recalled him to Rome, A.D. 84. Sallustius Lucullus is supposed to have succeeded to Agricola's command. Domitian died A.D. 96; but the state of Britain during the intermediate twelve years is the subject of vague conjecture and not of history.

[1] Tacitus, Agric. c. xl.

CHAPTER IV.

THE CYMRY AND THE ROMANS.

FROM THE ACCESSION OF NERVA TO THE DEATH OF CONSTANTIUS CHLORUS, A.D. 96–306.

Not Fortune's slave is man; our state
Enjoins, while firm resolves await
On wishes just and wise,
That strenuous action follow both,
And life be one perpetual growth
Of heaven-ward enterprise.
WORDSWORTH: *The Wishing-Gate destroyed.*

§ 1. DOMITIAN was followed upon the imperial throne by Nerva (A.D. 96), under whose short reign few events that affected Britain appear to have occurred; but a general spirit of discontent, merely repressed by force of arms, evidently prevailed for many years after the island's subjection by Agricola. At the period of Trajan's accession (A.D. 98) it is probable that the aged Brân ab Llyr and his heroic son Caradog had both passed away.

§ 2. Eigen, the daughter of Caradog ab Brân, is mentioned in the Triads as the first female saint of the Britons. Her husband, according to Cymric authority, was Sarllog, lord of Caersarllog (Old Sarum), and she headed, probably in later life and widowhood, a society of twelve pious women, who devoted themselves to the diffusion of Christianity and to works of kindness and charity.[1] Attempts have been made

[1] Ab Ithel, Eccl. Antiq. of the Cymry, pp. 57-60, and p. 210; A note to Gunn's Preface to Nennius, Giles's ed. p. xxx. 1841, cites on

CHAP. IV.

to identify Eigen, who is also called Eurgain, with Claudia, the saint in Cæsar's household mentioned by St. Paul, 2 Tim. iv. 21; and also with the British wife of Pudens, whose extraordinary beauty, genius, and accomplishments are celebrated in two epigrams by Martial the Roman poet.[1]

Cyllin, king of the Silures, the brother of Eigen, is also reckoned among the Cymric saints, or primitive Christians, of Britain in the first century.[2] The earliest converts appear to have been Druids, sincere and earnest men who, searching, like merchants, for precious gems, recognised the truth as soon as they discerned it, consecrated their influence to its service, and hallowed by Christian worship the stately temples of their former superstition.[3]

Coel, one of the two sons of Cyllin, is gratefully remembered by the Cymry for having been the first to introduce among them a water-mill with wheels for grinding corn.[4]

§ 3. There is no record or mention of any Roman governor of Britain between Sallustius Lucullus, who was put to death by Domitian, and Neratius Marcellus, who was præfect under Trajan about the year 106, and superintended the making and alteration of

this subject Pellontier, Hist. des Celtes, tome vii. c. iv. and the Benedictine Hist. Lit. de la France, tome i. p. 289, tome ii. p. 13.

[1] Stillingfleet, Orig. Brit. ed. 1685, pp. 44, 45; Bp. Burgess's Tracts, p. 73; Gibson's Camden's Brit. ed. 1772, p. 41; Rees, Welsh Saints, Appendix, p. 315.

[2] Rees, Welsh Saints, p. 82; Ab Ithel, Eccl. Antiq. of the Cymry, pp. 63, 64, 171, 172; Davies's Celtic Res. p. 162.

[3] Cambrian Journal, second series, No. III. Sept. 1858, pp. 204–206; Ab Ithel, Eccl. Antiq. of the Cymry, p. 169, and Note; Sammes, Brit. Antiq. Illus. p. 265; Grose, Antiquities of England and Wales, vol. i. p. 53.

[4] Ab Ithel, Eccl. Antiq. of the Cymry, p. 63; Geoffroy of Monmouth, book iv. c. xviii.

roads throughout the subjugated part of the island. Hadrian ascended the imperial throne (A.D. 117), and little is known of Britain between the departure of the great Proprætor Agricola (A.D .84) and the arrival[1] of that emperor, A.D. 121. He caused a fortified palisade to be made across the country from the Solway Frith to the mouth of the river Tyne, thus dividing the part of the island really subject to Rome from the regions beyond, and preventing all communication between the tribes north and south of that line.

He recalled Julius Severus from commanding in Britain to fight against the Jews.[2] About the year 124, A. Platorius Nepos was Hadrian's Proprætor; and, about the year 133, Priscus Licinius Italicus filled the same office under the same emperor. The reign of Antoninus Pius began A.D. 138, and soon afterwards occurred a revolt of the Brigantes.[3] Lollius Urbicus succeeded, in suppressing it, and he advanced the frontier line of the Roman possessions so far northward as to enclose all the territories of that powerful and liberty-loving tribe, replacing (A.D. 139) the line of fortresses which Agricola had raised across the isthmus lying between the Friths of Clyde and Forth,[4] by a wall, which bore henceforth the name of the Emperor Antoninus.

In A.D. 140, C. Valerius Pansa was proconsul, and Seius Saturninus præfect of the fleet on the British shore.

In A.D. 162, Calphurnius Agricola was sent by the Emperor Marcus Aurelius Antoninus as his lieutenant to Britain.

[1] Spartianus, Hadrian, c. xi.
[2] Xiphilin, Dion Cassius, Hadrian.
[3] Pausanius, lib. viii. c. 43.
[4] Sammes, Brit. Antiq. Illus. p. 258.

CHAP. IV.

§ 4. About this time Leurwg, or Lleufr Mawr (Lucius), a king of that part of western Britain known afterwards as Gwent and Morganwg, and the grandson of Cyllin ab Caradog, built a church at Llandaff, which is said to have been the first edifice ever raised in Britain for the especial purpose of Christian worship. It is alleged that this king corresponded by letter and messengers with Eleutherus, bishop of Rome,[1] A.D. 170–185. Such intercourse is not improbable, but its purport, if real, has obviously been misrepresented by the monks of later ages.

An insurrection occurred in Britain, A.D. 181; the northern rampart was crossed and the Roman general slain, but the Emperor Commodus sent Ulpius Marcellus against the insurgents, and in the following year that able commander terminated the war.[2]

In A.D. 187, P. Helvius Pertinax, at the request of Commodus, visited Britain and quelled there a revolt of the legions. In A.D. 192, Clodius Albinus commanded the Roman forces in Britain under the Emperor Pertinax.

A.D. 157. § 5. Britain had hitherto been held as one præsidial province under the Roman emperors,[3] but the power shown by its Proprætor, Clodius Albinus, when he contended at Lyons with an equal number of soldiers, although unsuccessfully, against Septimius Severus for a share in the empire of the Roman world,[4] deter-

[1] Nennius, § 22; Bede, Eccl. Hist. book i. c. iv.; Saxon Chronicle, A. 167; Geoffrey of Monmouth, book iv. c. xix.; Stillingfleet, Orig. Brit. p. 67; Rees, Welsh Saints, pp. 82-86; Ab Ithel, Eccl. Antiq. of the Cymry, pp. 66–73; Sammes, Brit. Antiq. Illus. pp. 263, 264.

[2] Xiphilin, Dion Cassius, Commodus.

[3] Gibson's Camden's Brit. ed. 1772, vol. i. p. 41.

[4] Herodianus, lib. iii. c. xxiv.; Julius Capitolinus; Claudius Albinus, c. xiii. xiv.

CHAP. IV.

mined the victor to alter henceforth the method of government in this island. He consequently divided the province into two parts, and appointed Virius Lupus proprætor of the northern,[1] and Heraclytus proprætor of the southern division. Virius Lupus soon found himself engaged in a war with the Meætæ[2] and the Caledonii; and having sustained many defeats and great losses, he wrote at last to entreat the personal aid of the emperor.

A.D. 209–210.

Hearing that Severus was approaching, the hostile tribes sent ambassadors to sue for peace; nevertheless that emperor continued his march at the head of a large army,[3] improving the roads in his progress, until having passed both Hadrian's barrier and that of Antoninus, and lost great numbers of his men, he compelled the inhabitants to yield up to him the possession of a large tract of land, and returned to York with the conviction that further conquests were untenable. He consequently erected a strongly fortified[4] rampart (*vallum*), running nearly parallel with the palisade (*sudes*) of Hadrian, and assumed the title of Britannicus Maximus. He died soon afterwards at York,[5] A.D. 211. Caracalla soon after that event left the island, appointing Papianus its præfect.

§ 6. Caracalla extended the freedom of the city of Rome (A.D. 212) to all the provinces of the empire, for the sole purpose of extorting from them the taxes of

[1] Ulpian, Digest. lib. xxviii. tit. vi.; Gibson's Camden's Brit. ed. 1772, vol. i. p. 117; Sammes, Brit. Antiq. Illus. p. 277.

[2] Xiphilin, Dion Cassius, Severus.

[3] Ibid.; Herodianus, lib. iii. c. li.; Aurelius Victor, c. xx.

[4] Spartianus Severus, c. xviii. xxii.; Eusebius, H. lib. ii.; Bede, book i. c. v. compared with book i. c. xii.

[5] Xiphilin, Dion Cassius, Severus; Herodianus, lib. iii. c. li.; Spartianus Severus, c. xix.

CHAP. IV.

citizens, in addition to the tribute which they paid as conquered nations. The Cymry and the other Britons must painfully have suffered under this heavy imposition, but the grievance being removed in after years left valuable privileges behind it.[1]

Under the many Roman emperors who reigned and strove to reign between the death of Caracalla (A. D. 217) and the accession of Probus (A. D. 276), no event concerning Britain is recorded, which appears to have affected the interests of the Cymry.

§ 7. The culture of the vine beyond the Alps was for many years prohibited by Roman law, in order to protect from rivalry the production of wine in Italy.[2] This restriction having been removed by the Emperor Probus, who reigned A. D. 276–282, the vine was introduced into Britain, and the natives were encouraged to plant vineyards and to make wine. From this period may probably be dated the parentage of the luxuriant vines which still decorate the white-washed cottages of Glamorganshire. The introduction of flax, which took place through the intervention of the Romanized Gauls, cannot be dated with equal certainty.

Besides these useful acquisitions, the chestnut tree, the plane, the lime, the Lombardy poplar, and the bay-laurel remain as memorials of Roman residence;[3] together with the damson, the eatable cherry, the peach, the apricot, the culinary quince, the fig, the

[1] Gibbon, Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire, ed. 1846, vol. i. c. vi. pp. 174, 175; Palgrave, Rise and Progress of the English Commonwealth, ed. 1832, part i. c. x. p. 322.

[2] Vopiscus, Probus, c. xviii.; Gibbon, Decline and Fall, vol. i. c. xii. p. 347; Daubeny's Roman Husbandry, lect. v.; Whitaker, Hist. of Manchester, book i. c. ix. § 5.

[3] Beckman's History of Inventions, Discoveries, and Origins, Bohn's ed. 1846, vol. ii. pp. 336–355; Whitaker, Hist. of Manchester, book i. c. ix. § 4.

mulberry, and the medlar. The cottager owes his radishes, his lettuces, and even his peas and beans to the same source. The ass,[1] the spaniel, the pheasant, and the peacock in this island also trace their descent to progenitors of Roman introduction; and the sports of hunting the hare, ferreting rabbits and cock-fighting were learned by the Cymry and other Britons from the cruel masters of the world.

Gangs of natives, directed by Roman legionaries, were constantly employed in labouring upon the roads, which were planned, cleared, and constructed with a view to promote the most direct and convenient communication between the ports, colonies, cities, towns, and military stations, throughout the country. This was a constant cause of complaint among the oppressed labourers, but the more wealthy Britons becoming familiarized with Roman manners, and forming matrimonial alliances among the conquerors, adopted generally their habits of life and style of dress.

§ 8. Diocletian ascended the imperial throne, A.D. 285. In the following year he took Maximian as a chosen colleague, and imparted to him the titles of Augustus and emperor. Some years before that date, Carawn (Carausius) was born of obscure parentage at Menapia,[2] otherwise written Menevia, now known as St. David's in Pembrokeshire. Inclination and circumstances rendered him early familiar with a seafaring

[1] Whitaker, Hist. of Manchester, vol. i. pp. 64, 87, 88, 101, 103—105.

[2] Panegyr. Vet. ii. 4; Eutropius, Hist. Rom. Brev. lib. ix. c. xxi.; Aurelius Victor, Epit. c. xxxix.; Bede, lib. i. c. vi.; Nennius, § 24; Geoffrey of Monmouth, book v. c. iii. and iv.; Palgrave, Rise and Progress of the English Commonwealth, ed. 1832, part i. c. xi. p. 376.

CHAP. IV.

life, and even in boyhood he increased his professional knowledge by service in Batavia.

The Channel was infested[1] by squadrons of light brigantines, belonging to piratical German tribes, who ravaged the rich coasts of Britain and Gaul, and intercepted the merchant-ships laden with valuable cargoes, while passing between Iberia and the British and Gallic ports. In occasional encounters with some of these marauders, Carausius, the skilful pilot, soon became distinguished as an enterprising and successful warrior. The maritime strength of Rome was at that time very low, the imperial ships being seldom used except as means of transport.

The valour and nautical skill of Carausius were mere manifestations of general vigour of character, and of rare mental faculties. His manners and his words accorded with his consciousness of power, and in a personal visit to Rome, the impression which he made proved so favourable, that upon undertaking to clear the seas of the dreaded pirates, he obtained from Maximian the appointment of admiral of the Roman fleet (Dux Præfectusque Classis), of which the head-quarters were fixed in the straits of the Channel, at Gessoriacum (Boulogne), A.D. 286.

The new admiral now looked diligently to the building and equipment of ships, taking care to have them manned efficiently both for navigation and warfare. In chasing, overcoming, and capturing the piratical brigantines, he acquired at once general renown and the especial confidence of his country. The force which could prevent invasion, was more highly prized than

[1] Gibson's Camden's Brit. ed. 1772, vol. i. pp. 48, 49; Sammes, Brit. Antiq. Illus. pp. 303, 304; Gibbon, Decline and Fall, ed. 1846, vol. i. c. xiii. pp. 367-368.

that which could only meet it in devastation on the shore. Rumours, nevertheless, reached Rome, that the famous admiral, unfaithful to his trust, allowed the piratical squadrons to pass unmolested on their way down the Channel, to pillage the Gallic and Iberian coasts, and to seize the merchant ships, while he, lying in wait for the marauders on their return, captured them with all their spoils, of which he returned none to the true owners, and gave but scanty tokens to the imperial treasury. Maximian, envious of his deeds and of his fame, gladly availed himself of so plausible a pretext for a crime, and charged certain officers with private orders to put him to death. Carausius, informed of his danger, sprang at once to the ambitious height, which he might otherwise have been content to climb with tardy steps.

Beloved and honoured by the Romans and Britons who served under him, and by the German prisoners, whom he had treated kindly and employed as mariners in his fleet, he found that in this great emergency he could rely on their attachment to his interests. Setting a strong garrison in Boulogne, he crossed the Channel with the fleet, and landed in Britain. Communicating there with the legionary and auxiliary soldiers, and with the public functionaries who held the island for Rome, they, with one accord, re-echoing the voice of the native population, saluted Carausius as Emperor, A.D. 287.

Upholding the firm framework of Roman laws and usages, which[1] enclosed without crushing the ancient British institutions, Carausius so justly, moderately, and sagaciously adapted the administration of affairs to the

[1] Palgrave, Rise and Progress of the English Commowealth, ed. 1832, part i. c. x.

CHAP. IV.

requirements of the time and country, that the general results of his government, both internally and externally, were strength and tranquillity.

§ 9. At Rome, the loss of Britain,[1] with its capacious harbours, its productive fisheries, its temperate climate, its fertile soil, its abundant pastures, its numerous flocks and herds, its wealthy stores of corn, its forests of stately timber, its rich mines and veins of metal, its military recruits, and its revenue of tribute and taxes, was deeply felt and loudly deplored. Maximian caused immediate preparations to be made for its recovery, but, after the lapse of nearly two years and a vast expenditure of labour and materials, the new fleet, which issued forth from the Rhine, proved far inferior in all points to that of Carausius.

A flattering orator had prepared an elaborate panegyric to celebrate the naval triumph of Maximian, but in the sea-fight which actually took place, Carausius was the victor, and Maximian, with his superior colleague, Diocletian, yielding reluctantly to irresistible force, consented to a treaty of peace, which acknowledged the imperial brotherhood of that hero, and allowed him to retain unmolested the sole and supreme sovereignty over the country which he had proved himself of all men best fitted to defend, A.D. 289. Boulogne and the adjacent coasts were already in possession of Carausius.

That extraordinary man was no less fitted for an emperor than Britain was for a great empire; and to him belongs the durable glory of having been the first to discern and to exemplify the capabilities of the country as a great maritime power. His gallant and triumphant fleet swept the seas from the mouths of the

[1] Panegyr. Vet. v. 11, vii. 9.

CHAP. IV.

Rhine to the columns of Hercules. He established such safe and equitable relations with the merchants trading to the British ports, that the interchange of commodities increased and prospered. He employed and encouraged the best shipwrights, builders, masons, craftsmen, and workmen of every kind, thus promoting the improvement of useful and ingenious arts, while stimulating individual talent and national industry. Many remaining specimens of his varied and well executed coinage in gold, in silver, and in brass, form indisputable records of his public career, and preserve his portrait[1] for remote posterity.

It is probable that the earliest[2] settlement ever formed in Britain by the rovers of the Northern Seas was authorized by Carausius, as a reward for marine service, and as a nursery for sailors.

A.D. 292.

Diocletian added two Cæsars, or junior coadjutors, to the imperial family, Galerius as his own adopted son, and Constantius Chlorus as the adopted son of Maximian.[3] The senior emperors, strengthened by this arrangement, disregarded their treaty with Carausius, affected to consider him as a usurping rebel, and reckoned his island empire as a part of the western præfecture, which they allotted to the sovereignty of Constantius Chlorus. Constantius, a man of vigour and ability, immediately took measures for securing his other provinces, and more especially for rendering

[1] Mon. Hist. Brit. plate v. contains 48 coins of Carausius, plate vi. contains 33, plate vii. contains 33, plate viii. contains 33, plate ix. contains 33, plate x. contains 33, plate xi. contains 33, plate xii. contains 32, plate xiii. contains 33, and plate xiv. 26.

[2] Palgrave, Rise and Progress of the English Commonwealth, part i. c. xiii.

[3] Eutropius, Hist. Rom. Brev.; Aurelius Victor.

CHAP. IV.

Gaul available, preparatory to undertaking a war against Carausius.

A.D. 293.

The line of fortresses, which was probably first raised as an inner barrier by Agricola, from the Solway Frith to the mouth of the Tyne, afterwards renewed by the Emperor Hadrian, and finally rebuilt by the Emperor Severus, who adopted it as the frontier of the Roman possessions in North Britain, had lately been again broken through by the free tribes of Alban, who robbed and wasted the cultivated territories of the Cymric tribes on both sides of it. Carausius marched his army against the invaders, drove them back beyond the boundary line of his empire, repaired the breaches they had made, erected several additional towers, rendered the garrisons efficient, and left behind him, both in stone and in a local river, remarkable monuments of his name.[1] Aware that Constantius was employed in building a fleet and in other hostile preparations, and that he intended to besiege his stronghold at Boulogne, both by land and by an attempt to cut off its communications with the sea, Carausius had strengthened his own garrison there; and he was ready to embark with a powerful armament for the frustration of his foes, when, conferring confidentially at York (Eboracum) with Allectus, this calm and magnificent reign was brought to a sudden close by the murderous dagger of that trusted friend and minister.

The prosperous condition of British affairs is evinced by the moment chosen for that treacherous and ambitious deed, A.D. 294.

§ 10. The personal courage of Allectus, the well-trained naval and military forces left at his command,

[1] Nennius, § 23, quoted by Camden, Brit. ed. 1772, vol. i. pp. 48, 49; and Camden, vol. ii. pp. 281–228, with an engraving.

and the precedents of defensive action derived from Carausius, enabled him for more than two years stoutly to resist the efforts of Constantius; but when that Cæsar's transports, eluding in a fog the vigilance of the British fleet, had effected a landing for his troops on the southern coast of Britain, the second island emperor, possessed by a sudden panic, and giving up all for lost, stripped off his purple robe, rushed forth undistinguished amidst the soldiers who were marching to oppose the invaders, and perished with them[1] in reckless desperation by the swords of the Prætorian bands.

A.D. 296. Constantius Chlorus entered upon the government of Britain with clemency, and rendered himself popular throughout all his dominions by an upright and able administration of affairs. Attempts have been made to show that his first wife Helena was a Cymric princess, and that their son Constantine was consequently of British blood and of British birth; but chronology cannot be reconciled with such an hypothesis,[2] for Constantine was born A.D. 274, his mother was divorced by order of Diocletian in the year 292, and his father never was in Britain until A.D. 296. Notwithstanding the tolerant principles of Constantius, the great persecution of the Christians by Diocletian extended to Britain, and in it Alban of Verulam, and Julius and Aaron of Caerleon upon Usk, are said to have suffered martyrdom,[3] A.D. 304.

On the abdication of the Emperors Diocletian and Maximian (A.D. 305), the Cæsars Galerius and Con-

[1] Eutropius, Hist. Rom. Brev. lib. ix. c. xxii.

[2] Ibid. lib. x. c. ii.; Zosimus, lib. ii.; Gibbon, Decline and Fall, ed. 1846, vol. i. c. xiv. pp. 407, 408, and notes to those pages; Mon. Hist. Brit. Chronological Abstract, A.D. 292.

[3] Gildas, §§ 9 and 10; Bede, Eccl. Hist. book i. c. vii.; Giraldus, Itin. book i. c. v.

CHAP. IV.

stantius succeeded severally to the title of Augustus, and jointly to imperial dominion. The latter afterwards continued during fifteen months to rule over Britain, and after an expedition against the free Britons of Alban, in which he was accompanied by his eldest son, returning to his palace at York (Caer Efrog) he died there, A.D. 306.

[1] Eutropius, Hist. Rom. Brev. lib. x. c. i.

CHAPTER V.

THE CYMRY AND THE ROMANS.

FROM THE ACCESSION OF CONSTANTINE THE GREAT TO THE DEATH OF CONSTANTINE OF ARLES, A.D. 306–411.

> Set we forward. Let
> A Roman and a British ensign wave
> Friendly together.
>
> SHAKSPEARE: *Cymbeline*, act v. scene v.

CHAP. V.

§ 1. ON the death of Constantius Chlorus (A.D. 306)[1] the Roman army at Caer Efrog (York) hailed Constantine, his eldest son, Augustus and Emperor. Galerius, however, only ratified this election in part, allowing him to assume the sovereignty of the Western provinces with the title of Cæsar and the fourth degree of imperial rank. In the following year, Constantine acquired, by an agreement with Maximian, the title of Augustus; and after the victory which he gained near Rome over the Emperor Maxentius (A.D. 312), he openly avowed himself a Christian convert.

Constantine adopted Diocletian's division of the civil government of the empire into[2] four præfectures, one of the East, one of Illyricum, one of Italy, and one of Gaul. Britain was included in the latter, and governed

[1] Socrates, lib. i. c. ii.; Gibbon, Decline and Fall, ed. 1846, vol. i. c. xiv. p. 410.

[2] Gibson's Camden's Brit. ed. 1772, p. 51; Palgrave, Rise and Progress of the English Commonwealth, ed. 1832, part i. c. x. p. 348; Gibbon, Decline and Fall, ed. 1846, vol. i. c. xiii. p. 393, and note; also vol. ii. c. xvii. pp. 29–35.

CHAP. V.

by a proprætor, who appears to have resided in the province henceforth called the Britannia Prima. Under him were two consular deputies, who appear to have respectively ruled and resided in the provinces henceforth severally known as the Britannia Secunda and the Maxima Cæsariensis. Three presidents, one in each province, were the appointed judges of civil and criminal causes. The finances of the island were administered by a receiver-general, who acted under the count of the imperial treasury. The military affairs of the island were directed by the general of the West, a count of Britain, commanding the troops of the midland districts; a count of the Saxon shore, who defended the sea-coasts; and a general,[1] who commanded the thirty-eight garrisons of the provinces, and whose duty it was to defend the northern marshes.

Geologists assert, that between the present estuaries of the Dee and Severn a channel of the sea can be traced, which, at some remote epoch, separated Wales from England. They give to this channel the name of the Malvern Straits, and the line thus naturally marked agrees with the boundary assigned by the discriminating Romans to the Britannia Secunda.[2]

§ 2. Having vanquished and destroyed Licinius,[3] his last rival (A.D. 324), Constantine became sole emperor, removed the chief seat of government to Byzantium, and published those edicts and laws which first gave the exclusive favour and support of secular sovereignty to believers in Christ, and established for them a framework of ecclesiastical polity carefully modelled to accord with the civil constitution of the state.

[1] Gibson's Camden's Brit. ed. 1772, vol. i. p. 51.
[2] Sir C. Lyell's Address to the British Association at Bath, 1864.
[3] Gibbon, Decline and Fall, ed. 1846, vol. i. c. xiv. pp. 449, 450.

In the year 314, Constantine summoned a council of the Christian Church at Arles in Gaul, which was attended by three British bishops,[1] Eborius (Efrog) representing York, the seat of government for the Maxima Cæsariensis; Restitutus (Rhysted), representing London, the city of the proprætor in the Britannia Prima; and Adelfius (Cadfrawd), representing the Colonia Legionensium of the Britannia Secunda. In the year 325, three British bishops,[2] one from each province, attended also the Council of Nice, which was convened by the same emperor. He died A.D. 337, at Nicomedia,[3] having justly won, by his abilities and successes as a general, a politician, and a ruler, the durable surname of THE GREAT.

At the Council of Ariminum, in Italy, summoned by the Emperor Constantius II. A.D. 359, several British bishops were present. The testimony of many of the most excellent Christian fathers in this century attests the steadfast adherence of the British bishops, their contemporaries, to the orthodox faith.[4]

§ 3. Magnentius,[5] a Gaul of British blood, who had attained a high rank in the army of the Emperor Constans, assumed the imperial crown at Autun (A.D. 350), caused his master to be put to death, and was recognized in his stead by Britain, Gaul, and Spain. In the sanguinary battle of Mursa he was vanquished

[1] Gibson's Camden's Brit. ed. 1772, vol. i. pp. 117–118; Stillingfleet, Orig. Brit. ed. 1685, pp. 76, 77; Rees's Welsh Saints, p. 100; Whitaker, History of Manchester, vol. i. book i. c. xi. § 4, p. 102.

[2] Athanasius, M. H. B. p. xcv.; Stillingfleet, Orig. Brit. ed. 1685, pp. 90, 91; Bp. Burgess's Tracts, p. 137; Pantin's Church of England, p. 12.

[3] Gibbon, Decline and Fall, ed. 1846, vol. ii. c. xviii. p. 77.

[4] Stillingfleet, Orig. Brit. ed. 1685, pp. 91, 175, 176; Rees's Welsh Saints, p. 101.

[5] Zonaras, lib. xiii. c. vi.; Gibbon, Decline and Fall, ed. 1846, vol. ii. c. xviii. pp. 89–100.

CHAP. V.

by the Emperor Constantius (A.D. 351), but escaping into Gaul, and pursued by that sovereign's troops, he turned fiercely upon them and won the battle of Pavia. In a subsequent conflict at Mont Seleucus, finding defection among his troops, Magnentius fell upon his sword and died (A.D. 353), having brought great misery upon the three countries from which he had recklessly exacted money and men. Paulus, a Roman officer, being sent into Britain by the Emperor Constantius to institute inquiries, cruelly persecuted all persons who were known or supposed to have favoured the cause of Magnentius, and even Martinus,[1] the proprætor, fell a sacrifice to suspicion.

§ 4. The final division of the Eastern and Western Empires[2] took place A.D. 364, Valentinian assigning to his brother Valens the præfecture of the East, from the Lower Danube to the boundaries of Persia, and reserving for himself the præfectures of Illyricum, Italy, and Gaul, the latter including Britain.

§ 5. During the two first centuries of Roman occupation, vast multitudes of the Cymry and Lloegrwys either fell sword in hand while desperately contending for freedom, or were slaughtered after battle in cold blood. When at last those tribes resigned themselves to subjection, it became a part of each proprætor's policy to diminish the number of inhabitants capable of bearing arms, and so to weaken Britain as to augment the strength of Rome.

The legions were regularly recruited from Britain, even when the country was but partly conquered; and the levies of men increased, not only with the extent of territorial subjection, but, from the days of Vitellius,

[1] Amm. Marcel. lib. xiv. c. v. §§ 6, 7, 8, and 9.

[2] Gibbon, Decline and Fall, ed. 1846, vol. ii. c. xxv. pp. 389, 400.

with exigencies consequent upon the foreign and civil wars of the empire.

Many military cohorts and squadrons[1] entirely composed of Cymry and Lloegrwys, were also reckoned among the standing armies of Rome, and served in Egypt, Armenia, Illyricum, Spain, Gaul, and other lands, without a prospect of ever returning to their homes: colonies in foreign countries affording the usual provision for veterans after their term of service as legionaries or auxiliaries.

During the long period of bloody strife which preceded the fall of the Western Empire, Britain furnished a fourth part of the Roman armies, Gaul, Spain, and Illyricum supplying the rest.

Besides all these enforced drains upon the military strength of the nation, much of its youthful blood was spilt in defending the country against local assailants, and still more was poured out wastefully by means of voluntary enlistments in fighting the battles of ambitious adventurers.

§ 6. A.D. 367. Britain having been ravaged by the Picts and Saxons from the wall of Antoninus to the British Channel, and two out of the three military commanders of the island having been slain by the invaders, the Emperor Valentinian at length found it necessary to despatch the able Theodosius[2] to the rescue at the head of the Jovian and Victorian legions and of the auxiliary Heruli and Batavi. In two campaigns this great strategist delivered the land from all its rapacious enemies, gave the name of Valentia[3] to

A.D. 368.

[1] Sammes, Brit. Antiq. Illus. p. 340; Gibson's Camden's Brit. ed. 1772, vol. i. p. 57.

[2] Amm. Marcel. lib. xxvi. c. iv. § 5, and lib. xxvii. c. viii.; Gibbon, Decline and Fall, ed. 1846, vol. ii. c. xxv. pp. 422-424.

[3] Amm. Marcel. lib. xxviii. c. iii.

CHAP. V.

the recovered district lying between the walls of Hadrian and Antoninus, firmly rebuilt and garrisoned the strongholds of the outer barrier, and establishing Civilis as proprætor and Dulcitius as military commander in Britain, he departed thence to fight in other lands the battles of his grateful sovereign.

The vigorous reign of the Emperor Valentinian terminated with his life[1] A.D. 375, and he was succeeded in the Western sovereignty by his two sons, Gratian, aged 17, and Valentinian II.,[2] aged four years.

Valens,[3] emperor of the East, having been defeated and slain by the Goths A.D. 379, his nephew, the Emperor Gratian, invested Theodosius, son of the celebrated general of that name, with the imperial purple, with the title of Augustus, and with sovereign authority over Thrace, Asia, Egypt, Dacia, and Macedonia.

§ 7. Clemens Maximus,[4] a Celt of noble birth, and probably a Cymro, had fought under Theodosius the elder, and was distinguished in Britain as an able officer. His wife was Elen, a daughter of Eudaf, and sister of Cynan Meiriadog, a ruler of North Wales (Gwynedd). Ambitious and popular, he was invested by the civil and military authorities of Britain with imperial power, A.D. 383. Not content with an island empire, and resolved to prevent the opposition of Gratian, Maximus assembled a vast army of native Britons, prepared a fleet, and boldly advanced across the Channel.

On his subsequent march, being joined by the Gallic

[1] Amm. Marcel. lib. xxx. c. vi.

[2] Ibid. c. x.

[3] Ibid. c. xiii. §§ 12–16.

[4] Zozimus, lib. iii. c. xix. xxxv., lib. iv. c. iii.; Sozomen, lib. vii. c. xii.; Socrates, lib. v. c. xi. xiv.; Saxon Chron. A, 381; Bede, lib. i. c. ix.; Rees's Welsh Saints, pp. 93, 94, and 104.

forces, he proceeded to attack the chief Emperor of the West in the city of Paris. Gratian fled from thence with 300 cavalry, intending to seek aid from his brother in Italy, but, persuaded by a treacherous local governor to await imaginary succours, he fell near Lyons into the hands of Andragathius, a general in the service of Maximus, and was there remorselessly slain,[1] A.D. 383. Maximus immediately sent an ambassador to the Emperor of the East, offering in dignified terms peace or war. Constrained by circumstances, Theodosius signed a treaty of peace, which embodied the condition that Maximus should content himself with the provinces lying beyond the Alps, and that Valentinian II. should retain Italy, Western Illyricum, and Africa. Maximus fixed his court at Treves, and there, professing to be a Christian, he acquired the disgraceful notoriety of being the first Christian sovereign ever known to have shed the blood of his Christian subjects for holding heretical opinions, A.D. 385. He taxed Britain heavily for the maintenance of a formidable army, partly composed of Germans; and his brother-in-law, Cynan, is said to have led 60,000 of the Cymry and Lloegrwys to his assistance.

Justly estimating the value of marine supremacy, watchfully anxious for the welfare of Britain, and not expecting either a disastrous change in his own prosperous fortune, or the breaking up of the Western Empire into its component regions, Maximus established a strong colony[2] of Cymric and Lloegrian Britons among their brother Celts in Armorica. The legend of

[1] Aurelius Victor, Epit. c. xlvii. and xlviii.

[2] Gildas, § 14; Nennius, § 27; Gibbon, Decline and Fall, vol. ii. c. xxvii. pp. 511–514 and 534–539.

CHAP. V.

Ursula[1] and her many thousand Virgins doubtless owes its origin to some casualty which befel the wives and daughters of these colonists on their voyage from the British to the Armorican shores.

Aspiring to the possession of the whole Western Empire, Maximus (A.D. 387) led his forces into Italy, and so craftily managed his march, that the young Valentinian scarcely became aware of his approach before he appeared in irresistible strength at the gates of Milan. Maximus made his triumphal entrance into that city, while Valentinian and his mother fled to Aquileia. From thence they went to Istria, and embarked for Thessalonica, to implore the protection of the Emperor Theodosius, who had justly acquired the surname of the Great. He, having diligently prepared a powerful fleet, led in person a well-disciplined army into Pannonia, where he encountered and defeated Maximus, who fled with wonderful speed, and was pursued by Theodosius into the plains of Italy. Being overtaken at Aquileia, he was beheaded by the soldiers
A.D. 388. in the camp of the Emperor of the East. His son, Victor Augustus, was also put to death, but four other children of Maximus and Elen are recorded in the Cymric genealogies.

Theodosius[2] restored to Valentinian all the provinces of which he had been deprived, and also gave him possession of those which had belonged to Gratian. Valentinian did not long retain them, being strangled at the age of twenty (A.D. 392), by his general Abrogastes, who set up Eugenius as Emperor of the West.

§ 8. Theodosius, with his generals, Stilicho and

[1] Geoffrey of Monmouth, book v. c. xv. xvi.; Stillingfleet, Orig. Brit. ed. 1685, book v. p. 291; Gibbon, vol. ii. note to p. 512.

[2] Gibbon, vol. ii. c. xxvii. pp. 549-559.

CHAP. V.

Timasius, marshalled a vast army of many nations and led it into Italy. The troops of Eugenius were skilfully led by Abrogastes, but the Eastern host gained the victory (A.D. 395), and for four subsequent months both empires were united in the firm though dying hands of Theodosius, who expired at Milan, committing to his youngest son, Honorius, the sovereignty of the Western Empire.

While Alaric with his Goths was ravaging Italy, the soldiers of the Western Empire were gradually recalled to muster round Honorius at Ravenna. The British walls and stations being consequently left ungarrisoned afforded easy entrance to all marauders, A. D. 407. The remaining Roman soldiers, impatient of distant and nominal sovereignty, elected their general, Marcus,[1] emperor of Britain, but soon disgusted by his evident unfitness for such dignified rank, they murdered him and elected in his stead Gratian Municeps, a Roman of British birth. After a feeble reign of four months, Gratian experienced the fate of his predecessor.

A.D. 407. They next elected a common soldier, merely because he chanced to bear the name of Constantine.[2] This man possessed the ability, courage, and resolution necessary for his new position. Enlisting all the Cymry and Lloegrwys who were then capable of bearing arms, and collecting together all the Roman soldiers then in Britain, he took them across the Channel, landed at Boulogne, obtained recognition from the cities of Gaul, and gained some military successes against their German invaders. Having defeated the army sent against him by Honorius, he turned his arms A.D. 407.

[1] Zozimus, lib. vi. c. ii.; Sozomen, lib. ix. c. xi.

[2] Olympiodorus, M. H. B. p. 75 Zozimus, lib. v. c. xliii.; lib. vi. c. i.–vi.

CHAP. V.

against Spain, obtained the general recognition of his authority in that country, and reigned as emperor from the Friths of Alban to the Pillars of Hercules, A.D. 408. An imperial missive, addressed by Honorius to the cities of Britain, virtually resigned possession of the island and commended its defence to the care of the native inhabitants, A.D. 409. Without waiting, however, for imperial consent,[1] the native kings, having experienced the helplessness of Honorius and the neglect of Constantine, reasserted their independence, and prepared to defend the country against its foes.

§ 9. The Romans, while for the maintenance of their own supremacy, depriving the British kings of the power of peace and war, and of assembling national councils, had suffered them locally to exercise the other functions of royalty. With elastic facility, therefore, those kings resumed their ancient places in the commonwealth.[2]

The Romans also, while curtailing the political and judicial power of the Druids,[3] had permitted their existence as a class; and its remaining priests, bards, and disciples still followed, under supervision, but without molestation, their several vocations.

The prevalence of Christianity gradually dissolved the Druidical class. The discipline of the disciples became obsolete, and the knowledge of nature and art having been thrown open by social changes to the public, their occupation was virtually abolished, while nominally retained as appendant to the functions of the Bards, who still retained, as genealogists, heralds,

[1] Zozimus, lib. vi. c. vi. x.; Gibbon, Decline and Fall, vol. iii. c. xxxi. pp. 162–167.

[2] Palgrave, Rise and Progress, ed. 1832, part. i. c. xi.

[3] Gibbon, Decline and Fall, ed. 1846, vol. i. c. ii. p. 34.

poets, and musicians, a powerful, although an altered place in the social system of the Britons. Among the Bards, patriotic feeling remained always warm and true, but it continued for many centuries to be intermingled with an alloy of sentimental fondness for the old Druidical superstitions.

At this æra of liberty there existed in Britain[1] ninety-two towns, of which thirty-three were important cities (comprising two municipia, nine colonies, ten Latii jure donatæ, and twelve stipendiariæ), each of which possessed a legal corporation, annual magistrates, a select senate, and an assembly of the people, forming a miniature republic for its own internal government.

The number of bishops in the Ancient British Church has been estimated at between thirty and forty. These, with the magistrates and the native kings, sat in council upon all affairs which concerned the general welfare.

One of the earliest acts of these combined authorities, was the election of the eldest surviving son of the Emperor Maximus and of Elen his wife, to be Pendragon of Britain.[2] Owain ab Maxim has left to posterity the fame of a beneficent and valiant monarch. By him the payment of imperial tribute was finally abolished, he repulsed the irruptions of the Northern Britons, and zealously promoted the diffusion of Christianity. A.D. 409.

Meanwhile, however, and for a few years afterwards, the island continued to form a nominal part of the

[1] Nennius, § 7; Bede, Eccl. Hist. book i. c. xxii.; Whitaker's History of Manchester, vol. ii. p. 294; Gibbon, Decline and Fall, vol. iii. p. 163; Wright's Ruins of Uriconium, ed. 1864, pp. 13–47.

[2] Rees's Welsh Saints, pp. 107, 108; Palgrave, Rise and Progress of the English Commonwealth, part i. c. xi. p. 384.

CHAP. V.

dominions of the new Emperor Constantine, who kept his court at Arles in Gaul, while his son Constans ruled in Spain as Cæsar, both being upheld by the skill, valour, and sagacity of Count Gerontius[1] (Geraint). This ferocious Cymro, having been injured and affronted by those who owed to him their power, revolted against Constantine, slew Constans, and set up a kinsman of his own, named Maximus, as emperor. Driven finally to desperation by a mutiny of his foreign soldiers upon the confines of Spain, and being besieged by them, suddenly, at the dead of night, in his own house, where he had with him only a few domestic slaves, one faithful friend, and a devoted wife, Gerontius so manfully defended himself, that with their aid, and a good supply of darts and arrows, he slew three hundred of his assailants. When morning came, and all his missiles were spent, the slaves fled, and, at the request of his friend and wife, he cut off their heads, soon closing the tragic scene by sheathing a dagger in his own heart. Constantine, his son Julian, and the new Maximus, subsequently fell into the hands of the soldiers of Honorius, and were one after another put to death, A.D. 411.

[1] Zozimus, lib. vi. c. i.–vi.; Orosius, lib. vii. c. xlii.; Amm. Marcel. lib. xiv. c. v. § 1; Gibbon, Decline and Fall, vol. iii. c. xxxi. pp. 150, 151.

CHAPTER VI.

THE CYMRY IN THE FIFTH CENTURY.

HOPE.

That generous, buoyant spirit is a power
Which in the virtuous mind doth all things conquer,
It bears the hero on to arduous deeds,
It lifts the saint to heaven.

JOANNA BAILLIE: *The Beacon*, act ii. scene iii.

§ 1. THE progeny of Cogidunus, and the inhabitants of the cities first founded and peopled by the Romans, retained a lingering inclination for dependence upon Rome. Britain was their birthplace, but they formed a mere faction there, and their *groans* for casual assistance, rightly interpreted, expressed an habitual desire for the renewed residence of powerful protectors, whose presence might restore to that faction their former predominance over the primæval race. In the course of this century, many families of Roman settlers hid their treasures in the earth,[1] and migrated to Gaul, carrying with them their most portable wealth.

Communications having been re-opened with the capital of the Western Empire, the temporary[2] assistance of a Roman legion was on two different occasions received by the Britons, A.D. 416 and 418. At a

[1] Saxon Chronicle, A.D. 418.

[2] Bede, book i. c. xii.

CHAP. VI.

still later date (A.D. 472) the Britons sent an[1] army of 12,000 men, at the request of the Emperor Anthemius, to the assistance of his friends in Gaul. This army was led by a king of Britain called Riothamus.

§ 2. Besides the free tribes of Alban, who from generation to generation burst through all barriers, to despoil land more fertile than their own; and besides the rovers from the Baltic and the Elbe, who continued with emulative audacity to assail various parts of the coast, the western side of the island had of late been violently attacked by[2] Scottish clans direct from the Irish shores. These Gwyddyl Ffichti, arriving at a period when the population was reduced by the loss of men supplied to various emperors, contrived gradually to possess themselves of nearly the whole land of the Ordovices (Gwynedd) and of the Demetæ, including the districts now known as the counties of Caerdigan, Pembroke, and Caermarthen.

Gerontius (Geraint) and the ablest British leaders had perished while serving ambitious purposes abroad, and local chiefs were needed to deliver Cymru from oppressors, when Cunedda[3] Wledig, a king of the Northern Cymry, having been driven from his home by hostile invaders, sought refuge in the south with his maternal kindred of the tribe of Coel Godebog. His numerous sons succeeded in expelling the Gwyddyl Ffichti from the greater part of the territories of which they had possessed themselves, and the names of the deliverers may yet be traced in those of the

A.D. 420-430.

[1] Gibbon, Decline and Fall, vol. iii. c. xxxvi. pp. 323, 324.

[2] Nennius, § 14; Gibbon, vol. iii. p. 83, note; Herbert, Britannia after the Romans, introd. pp. lx. lxi.; Rees's Welsh Saints, p. 109; Skene's Four Ancient Books of Wales, c. iv. pp. 43–45.

[3] Nennius, §§ 14, 62.

districts with which their valour was rewarded[1]; that of Ceredig in Ceredigion, Arwystl in Arwystli, Dunod in Dunodig, Edeyrn in Edeyrnion, Mael in Dinmael, Coel in Coleion, Dogfael in Dogfeilin, Rhufon in Rhufoniog, Einion in Caereinion, and Oswal in Osweilin. CHAP. VI.

The Gwyddyl Ffichti were finally expelled from Gwynedd, or reduced to slavery there, by Caswallawn[2] ab Einion ab Cunedda, who slew their chief, Serigi, with his own hand, at a place still known as Cerig y Gwyddyl, in Mona. Caswallawn, whose surname was Law Hir, founded and endowed a church over the grave of the Irish warrior, which is yet remembered as Eglwys y Bêdd, or Llan y Gwyddel. He built a palace for himself near Llanelian, and commenced in the year of his victory (443) a long and prosperous reign over the kingdom of Gwynedd.

§ 3. That part of the present county of Brecknock which lies southward of the Eppynt range of hills was known at an early period as Garthmadryn. While the Romans still occupied Britain, Tewdrig,[3] king of Morganwg, reigned also over that district. In opposing a subsequent invasion of the Gwyddyl Ffichti, he was slain at the moment of victory, and buried on the spot, subsequently marked by the erection of the church called Merthyr Tewdrig, near Chepstow. Meurig, his son, inherited the kingdom of Morganwg, and his daughter, Marchell,[4] having married an Irish prince, her son, Brychan, derived from his maternal grandfather the territory of Garthmadryn.

Brychan was a pious man, and he had his numerous

[1] Rees's Welsh Saints, pp. 109, 110.
[2] Williams, Enwogion Cymru, p. 69.
[3] Liber Llandavensis, Welsh MSS. Society, pp. 383–385, and 621.
[4] Rees's Welsh Saints, pp. 112, 113.

CHAP. VI.

sons, daughters, and grandchildren, carefully instructed in all the learning and liberal arts of the time, with the intention that they should make themselves useful as Christian instructors of the Cymry. This purpose, both by precept and example, they admirably fulfilled. Most of their names are enrolled among those of the Cymric saints, and more than fifty churches owe their foundation to this holy family. Patron saints in those days were unknown there, and the name of the holy man who hallowed the intended site of a sacred edifice by his vigils and prayers was ever afterwards assigned to that church and its parochial district.

From Brychan, the name of Brycheiniog became associated with Garthmadryn, and with the present county of Brecknock.

§ 4. It is supposed that Pelagius[1] was born and educated in Cymru, and that his true name was Morgan. The purity of his morals and his bold reproof of the vices of the Italian clergy, procured for this ambitious monk so much personal respect, that his erroneous doctrines found ready reception and extensive diffusion. He denied original sin, and asserted the unassisted sufficiency of man to work out his own salvation. St. Augustine ably exposed the falsehood of these opinions: they were condemned by Zozimus, bishop of Rome (A.D. 418), and by the Council of Carthage; and Pelagius was banished from Rome by an edict of the Emperor Honorius.

In A.D. 429, the orthodox bishops of Britain sent a deputation to their brethren in Armorica, entreating the immediate presence of some able contro-

[1] Knight's English Cycl. Biography, vol. iv. p. 718; Maclaine's Mosheim's Eccl. Hist. ed. 1838, vol. i. pp. 256, 257; Waddington's Church History, c. xi. § 4.

versialists to assist in suppressing the Pelagian heresy. Garmon[1] (Germanus), bishop of Auxerre, and Bleiddian (Lupus), bishop of Troyes, arrived accordingly, and executed their mission with success. During their stay it happened that Garmon, while engaged in the fast of forty days which always preceded the foundation of a new church, and was usually coincident with the season of Lent, found himself in the neighbourhood of hostile armies. At Easter, the British warriors came to him to be baptized within a booth erected upon the site of the present Llanarmon yn Iâl; and, under an extraordinary impulse of zeal, he is said to have led them forth against their invading foes, whom they threw into flight and utter consternation by shouting three times 'Alleluia'! Maesgarmon, near Mold in Flintshire, is the reputed scene of this victory. CHAP. VI.

Garmon came a second time to Britain, accompanied by Severus, bishop of Triers. Several Welsh churches still bear his name, and the respective names of his associates; and from the period of his first visit may probably be traced the origin in Wales of regular parochial ministrations, and the introduction of the Gallic[2] liturgy. A.D. 447.

§ 5. In three Roman provinces of Britain, the respective metropolitan cities[3] were the sites of cathedral churches. Each of these was entrusted to a bishop, who had under him suffragan bishops, presbyters, and deacons. They lived together in communities, and he sent them forth regularly to minister in certain districts,

[1] Nennius, § 32; Bede, Eccl. Hist. c. xvii.-xxi.; Stillingfleet, Orig. Brit. ed. 1685, c. iv. pp. 189-194; Rees's Welsh Saints, pp. 119-126.

[2] Stillingfleet, Orig. Brit. ed. 1685, book iv. pp. 216-237.

[3] Cave, Primitive Christianity, ed. 1840, c. viii. pp. 107-109; Gibson's Camden's Brit. ed. 1772, vol. i. p. 117; Whitaker's History of Manchester, vol. i. book i. c. xi. § 4, p. 192.

CHAP. VI.

and occasionally to itinerate throughout the political province over which his ecclesiastical care extended. All endowments and contributions belonged to his cathedral or mother church, and the bishop used them[1] for the maintenance of the clergy, the education of clerical candidates, the relief of the poor, and all other incidental expenses. Previous to the Council of Nice (A.D. 325) the title of archbishop did not exist. It subsequently became in certain cases a descriptive designation[2] of a bishop holding control and supervision over other bishops of endowed sees. The local British kings, in order to obtain the benefit of clerical residence upon their territories, built churches in their capitals, and permanently endowed them with lands. These churches, being severally held by bishops, became new centres of Christian instruction, rather resembling the large rectories than the bishoprics of the nineteenth century.

Early in the fifth century, Cymru (Wales) had only one episcopal see,[3] that of Caerleon upon Usk, and the circuit of its diocese and ecclesiastical jurisdiction was co-extensive with the Roman province of Britannia Secunda. The bishop of this see had many suffragans (chorepiscopi) who had no fixed seats of authority, and no revenues, but to their pastoral care the metropolitan committed certain districts, each of which usually comprehended a local kingdom, and through its territories a suffragan, with attendant presbyters, itinerated, preaching, teaching, praying, and administering rites and sa-

[1] Cave, Primitive Christianity, ed. 1840, c. vi. p. 74; Stephen's New Comm. ed. 3, 1853, vol. iii. p. 19.

[2] Cave, Dissertation on Ancient Church Government, ed. 1840, c. ii. § 7, p. 392; Palgrave, Rise and Progress of the English Commonwealth, ed. 1832, part. i. c. v. pp. 152–154.

[3] Rees's Welsh Saints, p. 175.

craments, besides visiting often from house to house. Such were Tudwal of Arfon, Cynan of Llangynin, Gistlianus of Mynyw (Menevia), Pawl Hên of Ty Gwyn, and the earliest bishops of Llandaff.

§ 6. An old Cymric tradition asserts that Padrig ab Mawon,[1] a native of Gŵyr, in Morganwg, being a teacher of theology in the college of Caerworgan, was carried off by a band of Hibernian rovers, about the year 440, and became the zealous and successful missionary of the Christian faith to the Irish nation. This tradition may possibly be reconciled with the few facts which St. Patrick has related of his own life.

Dyfrig[2] (Dubricius), the most eminent of the grandsons of Brychan, was born at Mochros (Moccas), on the banks of the Wye. After a course of preliminary studies, he entered upon the office of a Christian minister, and, about the year 470, was appointed suffragan bishop of Llandaff by the Archbishop of Caerleon. The local king, Meurig ab Tewdrig, being deeply impressed by the saintly character and pious teaching of Dyfrig, endowed[3] the bishopric with churches and lands, and rendered it a permanent see with an ecclesiastical diocese. That diocese comprised Gwent and Morganwg: Morganwg consisting of the present county of Glamorgan, Gwent[4] comprehending the whole of the present county of Monmouth, with parts of the counties of Hereford, Brecon, and Gloucester. Llandaff was the capital of this kingdom and the seat of episcopal as well as of civil government.

The archbishopric of Caerleon had its supreme cathedral church within these limits, much as Canterbury now stands encompassed by, yet apart from, the

[1] Rees's Welsh Saints, pp. 128, 129. [2] Ibid. pp. 170–193.
[3] Ibid. p. 184. [4] Herbert, Brit. after the Romans, p. 228.

CHAP. VI.

diocese of Rochester. The site of Caerleon, with its precincts, having been taken out of the territories of an ancient British king, and occupied by a Roman colony, became, under imperial rulers, the capital of the province of Britannia Secunda, and the seat of its military, civil, and ecclesiastical government.

On the restoration of national independence, Caerleon retained its corporate[1] privileges, and remained the ecclesiastical metropolis of the province which had been politically dissolved.

On the death of Tremorinus (Trefor) the archbishop, in 490, Dyfrig was appointed by the Pendragon to succeed him. Love for the members of his old pastoral charge, a preference for rural congregations, and a political bias towards the unmixed Cymric race, may account for the facts that Dyfrig, archbishop of Caerleon, continued to reside at Llandaff, and retained full possession of that see.

He founded the colleges of Henllan and of Mochros on the Wye, a college at Caerleon upon the Usk, and the colleges of Llancarfan and Caerworgan in Morganwg. Each of these institutions afforded also an asylum for the aged, and a school for the young.

The first principal of Llancarfan was Dyfrig's beloved friend, Cattwg, a sage of royal birth, who renounced the inheritance of a kingdom for the sake of studious leisure. A large collection[2] of philosophical axioms, practical maxims, and other compositions, traditionally imputed to him, justifies the surname of Ddoeth (the Wise). Many churches in Gwent and Morganwg commemorate him.

[1] Ancient Laws and Institutes of Wales, p. 678.

[2] Myrv. Arch. vol. iii. pp. 199, 283; Selections from the Iolo MSS. Welsh MS. Society, pp. 560–575.

The first principal of Caerworgan was Illtyd, an Armorican, from whom the place acquired the secondary name of Cor-Illtyd. Its site is now known as Llanilltyd Fawr, or Llantwit Major. Churches in Demetia, Morganwg, and Gwent commemorate him, and also chapels in Brycheiniog and Merionydd. Illtyd was a practical agriculturist, and his countrymen owed to him an improved method of ploughing, which superseded the use of the mattock and the over-treading plough (*aradr arsang*).

One of Illtyd's most celebrated pupils was Pawl Esgob (Paulinus), who afterwards founded a similar college in Caerfyrddin, called Tŷ-gwyn ar Daf. He presided over it himself, and having studied the Holy Scriptures with peculiar assiduity, rendered it pre-eminent as a place of theological instruction. Several churches in Deheubarth (South Wales) perpetuate his name.

Gynyr, lord of Penbidiog, the father of Gistlianus, suffragan of Mynyw, bestowed all his lands as an endowment upon that bishopric, and rendered it a permanent see. Nôn, the daughter of Gynyr, married Sandde, a prince of Cunedda's race, and had a son named Dewi,[1] whose extraordinary abilities well deserved the careful culture devoted to them by his exemplary mother and by his kinsmen. He was educated in the college of Illtyd, under that holy man's personal instruction. Having taken orders as a presbyter, Dewi (David) removed from Caerworgan to Tygwyn ar Daf, where he spent several years in studying the Scriptures under the guidance of Pawl Hên. Thence he withdrew into the Vale of Ewias, where he reared a chapel and cell upon the site now occupied by

[1] Rees's Welsh Saints, pp. 193-202.

CHAP. VI.

the ruins of Llantony Abbey, and, in utter seclusion, sought by meditation and prayer to prepare himself for the arduous and responsible duties of the Christian ministry. Tradition tells[1] that he led there an ascetic life of unusual rigour, drinking only the water of the river Honddu, and eating only the leeks of the mountain pastures (*Allium schœnoprasum*). Returning from the solitudes of the Mynydd Du to Mynyw, his native place, he founded a college there, and applied himself with indefatigable zeal to the worthy fulfilment of his episcopal functions.

Earnestly directing his own course towards heaven, he strove continually, by every persuasive act and skilful argument, to lead thither rich and poor, high and low, friend and stranger.

§ 7. Vortigern[2] (Gwrtheyrn Gwrthenau) a Cymric king, whose hereditary dominions lay along the vale of the river Wye, was elected Gwledig, or Pendragon, about the year 448.

The Britons had recently been afflicted with pestilence, when the predatory tribes of Alban made a formidable incursion, and sufficient forces could not be raised to repel them. Vortigern, in this grievous emergency, summoned the great national council, being afraid to exercise his full powers in a case which involved unusual responsibility. The unanimous voices of the assembly (application to Rome having failed), authorised the Pendragon to call in the assistance of the Teutonic rovers. Hengist and his brother Horsa, with three tribes of Jutes and Angles, were consequently

[1] Drayton, Polyolbion.

[2] Gildas, § 23; Nennius, §§ 31, 36, 38, 45–49; Bede, lib. i. c. xiv. xv.; Saxon Chron. A. 449; Ethelwerd's Chronicle, book i.; Gibbon, Decline and Fall, vol. iii. c. xxxviii. pp. 422–437.

invited, and they landed in the Isle of Thanet, A.D 449. Vortigern, having with their help beaten back all assailants, assigned to his new auxiliaries good quarters in Thanet, and promised, in return for continued military services, that they should receive regular supplies of provisions in proportion to their number. Tempted by the alluring reports of these adventurers, fresh tribes of Angles soon poured in, and on the plea of insufficient remuneration, Hengist and Horsa led forth their host to plunder and devastate the neighbouring country.

They soon afterwards formed an alliance with the predatory tribes of Alban, and with the Gwyddyl Ffichti (Irish Picts), and set the Pendragon and his Britons at defiance. Mustering the forces of the monarchy, Vortigern met his enemies bravely in battle, the Teutonic tribes were defeated, and Horsa was slain,[1] A.D. 455. In the following year the Britons lost a battle, and in 457 the Jutes, carrying havoc and conflagration wherever they trod, possessed themselves of the whole south-eastern district, which became, under Hengist's control, the kingdom of Kent. A series of battles followed with interchangeable success. In them Vortimer, the son of Vortigern, greatly distinguished himself.

The unhappy Vortigern had now to endure not only the disappointment of sanguine expectations, the open enmity of ferocious pagans, and the factious hostility of his Romanized subjects, but also the bitter reproaches of his own patriotic adherents. Under these complicated troubles, he appears to have died broken-hearted, A.D. 464. Calumny and contempt have been heaped upon his memory.

[1] Saxon Chron. A. 455.

CHAP. VI.

§ 8. Aurelius Ambrosius[1] (Emrys Wledig), an expert commander, of British birth and Roman ancestry, was the next Pendragon of the Britons; and his prudence and valour served for a time to check the progress of the Teutonic invasion.

In the year 477, Saxon tribes,[2] led by Ella and his three sons, effected a landing upon the western part of the coast belonging to the Regni, and gradually established the kingdom of the South Saxons (Sussex), A.D. 477–490.

In the year 495, fresh tribes of Saxons, led by Cerdic and his son Cynric, arrived upon the coast belonging to the Regni opposite to Ynys Gwydd (the Isle of Wight), probably at Southampton.

§ 9. Around the magnanimous Arthur,[3] monkish legends and chivalrous fictions have cast an illusive brilliancy, which obscures the glimmering light of truthful history. Time, place, and circumstance concur in giving probability to the conjecture that he was the son and successor of Meurig ab Tewdrig, king of Gwent and Morganwg; and the testimony of Nennius, with the collateral evidence drawn from the poems of contemporary Bards, establishes the fact that King Arthur repeatedly encountered and worsted the Teutonic invaders. In the early part of his career he appears to

[1] Gildas, § 25; Nennius, §§ 31, 48; Bede, book i. c. xvi.; William of Malmesbury, Bohn's ed. book i. c. i. p. 11.

[2] Saxon Chronicle.

[3] Nennius, § 50; Geoffrey of Monmouth, book viii. c. xxiv. book ix. c. i.–xx. book x. c. i.–xiii. book xi. c. i. ii.; William of Malmesbury, Bohn's ed. book i. c. i. and book iii. A.D. 1087; Gibbon, Decline and Fall, ed. 1846, vol. iii. c. xxxviii. pp. 429, 430; Palgrave, Rise and Progress, part i. c. xii.; Turner, Hist. Ang. Sax. ed. 1828, vol. i. book iii. c. iii. pp. 285–297; R. Price's Preliminary Essay prefixed to Warton's History of English Poetry; Schultz's Origin of Romantic Fiction; Bacon's History of the Reign of King Henry VII.; Skene's Four Ancient Books of Wales, vol. i. c. iv. pp. 50–60.

have acted under the Pendragon[1] Ambrosius,[2] whose death is usually assigned to the year 500.

Uthyr Pendragon appears to have been a warlike appellation,[3] and might have belonged either to Natanleod[4] or to Meurig. The hero who bore it is introduced by the chroniclers of legendary fiction[5] as the brother and successor of Aurelius Ambrosius (Emrys Wledig). To the reigns of Vortigern and Ambrosius belong the legendary life and predictions[6] of Merddin, commonly known by the name of Merlin the Enchanter.

[1] Emmrys Gwledig.

[2] Nennius, § 48; Bede, book i. c. xvi.

[3] Milton, Hist. of Britain, Bohn's ed. book iii. p. 256; Williams of Nantmel, Dissert. on Pelagian Heresy, part i. p. 25, note †; Herbert, Brit. after the Romans, c. v. pp. 141–171.

[4] Saxon Chron. A. 508; Ethelwerd's Chron. A. 508.

[5] Geoffrey of Monmouth, book viii. c. 15.

[6] Nennius, §§ 40–42; Geoffrey of Monmouth, book vii.; Spenser's Faerie Queen, book iii.

CHAPTER VII.

THE CYMRY AND THE SAXONS.

FROM THE ELECTION OF KING ARTHUR TO THE DEATH OF MAELGWN GWYNEDD, A.D. 500-566.

Never, for lucre or laurels,
Or custom, though such should be rife,
Adapting the smaller morals
To measure the larger life.
MRS. BARRETT BROWNING: *No. III. in Italy, XVIII.*

CHAP. VII. A.D. 500.

§ 1. ON the death of Aurelius[1] Ambrosius, King Arthur was elected Pendragon. No historic proof exists that he was crowned at Caerleon,[2] by Archbishop Dyfrig, or that he held his court there; but the assertion accords with known facts, and the inference is natural that the Pendragon would rejoice in an opportunity of exhibiting his monarchical state, and exercising his supreme authority in a place which had been so long and so completely withdrawn from his own royal heritage.

In the year 501, Port and his sons,[3] conducting Saxon re-inforcements, arrived on the coast of the Regni, and entered the harbour now called

[1] William of Malmesbury, book i. c. i. and book iii. A.D. 1087; Geoffrey of Monmouth, book ix. c. xiii.; Gibbon, Decline and Fall, vol. iii. c. xxxviii. pp. 429–430.

[2] Giraldus, Itin. book i. c. v.; Churchyard, Worthiness of Wales, pp. 22–30.

[3] Saxon Chron.; Ethelwerd's Chron.

Portsmouth. Their landing was fiercely opposed by British forces commanded by King Arthur. Llywarch Hên,[1] an eyewitness, has recorded in an elegy, still extant, the valour of the princely Geraint ab Erbyn of Dyfnant (Devon), who fell at Llongborth (Portsmouth) amid fearful slaughter. The result of the conflict is not clearly told either by the Cymric Bard or the Saxon chroniclers, but certainly the aggressors succeeded in landing.

In 508, Cerdic and his son Cynric, leading forth their army, were encountered by British forces, of which they slew Natan-leod the king and 5000 men.

In 514, Stref and Whitgar, the nephews of Cynric, accompanied by fresh Saxon tribes, arrived at the same point at which their uncle had landed nineteen years before. A British force opposed them, but was put to flight.

In 519, Cerdic and Cynric, twenty-four years after their arrival, gained secure possession of the adjacent coast, and established upon a small scale the kingdom of Wessex. In the same year, attempting to enlarge its boundaries, they sustained a defeat from the British forces, which constrained them to be quiet for eight years.

§ 2. About the year 516, Padarn[2] and other Armorican emigrants, fleeing from the Franks, found a hospitable reception in Cmyrû. Padarn, by his local influence, established the episcopal see of Llanbadarn; and many parochial churches, still bearing his name, help to define the limits of that diocese, which bordered to the southward upon that of Menevia, and

[1] Literary Remains of the Rev. Thomas Price, vol. i. pp. 133–138; Palgrave, Rise and Progress, part i. c. xii. p. 402, note; Turner, History of the Anglo-Saxons, ed. 1836, vol. i. book iii. c. iii. pp. 281–291.

[2] Rees's Welsh Saints, pp. 215–217.

CHAP. VII.

probably included towards the north the greater part of Powys.

The watchful Archbishop Dyfrig, alarmed at detecting heretical teachers among his clergy, summoned a synod of his bishops and presbyters in the year 519. They met by Teivy's side in Ceredigion, at a place since known by the name of Llanddewi Brefi[1]; but although Pawl Hên and many other learned, pious, and orthodox men stood forth in defence of the true faith, their Pelagian adversaries had the advantage in persuasive eloquence. In this emergency, at the suggestion of Pawl Hên, special messengers were despatched to Bishop Dewi.

Occupied with his unobtrusive daily work, and anxious rather to promote the life of faith than to display his skill in controversy, that bishop excused himself from attendance; but at last, convinced of the urgent necessity of the case, he accompanied the venerable men, who came to fetch him, to the scene of action. There the influence of his saintly and beneficent character, his learning, his acute intelligence, and his apt and winning words, produced the desired effect upon the synod. The Pelagian tenets were unanimously condemned, and canons were enacted against them.

Before the dissolution of the synod, the aged and weary Archbishop Dyfrig (Dubricius) formally resigned all his ecclesiastical offices, and recommended Dewi as his successor in the primacy. The acclaiming voices of all present approved the choice, the Pendragon, and probably the national convention, ratified it, and Caerleon received in Dewi the most illustrious of Cymric prelates.

[1] Williams of Nantmel, Dissert. on the Pelagian Heresy; Lewis's Topographical Dictionary of Wales, ed. 1838, vol. ii.

Reluctantly accepting the archbishopric of Caerleon, he retained nevertheless the bishopric of Mynyw[1] (Menevia), a place called by the Romans Menapia, from the name of its inhabitants.

The pious Dyfrig (St. Dubricius) retired at once to Ynys Enlli (the Isle of Bardsey), where he passed the remnant of his days, and died about A.D. 522. Teilo,[2] a scion of Cunedda's race, a fellow-student with Dewi under Pawl Hên, and the principal of a college at Llandaff called Bangor Deilo, succeeded Dyfrig in that bishopric, and distinguished himself by his pastoral diligence.

With the consent of the British monarch, Dewi[3] removed the seat of the primacy to Mynyw. Many reasons may be suggested for this change, besides the natural preference of his rural birthplace to a bustling city. A hundred years had effectually dissolved Roman combinations, and faded the memories of Roman habitudes. Caerleon remained a mere corporate city, and the ecclesiastical province which ostensibly adhered to it, was really held together only by the grasp of strong personal influence.

An archbishop failing to be a missionary to the people and an oracle to their kings, must soon find his primacy extinct, and his diocese co-extensive with the precincts of its ancient metropolis. The westward looming of the ruthless Teutonic invaders, and many frightful instances of their desecrating fury, must also have indicated to a sagacious and foreseeing mind, the liability of Caerleon to suffer from their incursions.

[1] William of Malmesbury, book i. c. ii.

[2] Williams, Enwogion Cymru, pp. 480–481; Rees's Welsh Saints, pp. 242–246, and 250, 251.

[3] Giraldus, Itin. book ii. c. i.

CHAP. VII.

§ 3. About the year 527, the ancient realms of the Iceni became the kingdom of East Anglia; including probably the colony introduced by Carausius.

Nearly at the same date, a body of Saxons founded the kingdom of Essex; which in after years gradually extended over what is now Middlesex, and part of Hertfordshire.

A. D. 527. Cerdic and Cynric resuming their offensive operations, King Arthur gathered together the kings and nobles, with all the military forces of Britain, and led them yet once more against the Saxons. The hostile armies met at Badon Hill,[1] otherwise called Cerdic's Lea (near Bath),[2] and the Saxons were defeated with great slaughter. This victory was followed by the longest pause which occurred in the slow progress of this great invasion.

§ 4. A.D. 529. Archbishop Dewi convoked a synod of bishops, suffragans, and presbyters at Caerleon, in which the canons of Llanddewi Brefi were confirmed, and new regulations enacted for the improvement of church government. The perfect extinction of the Pelagian heresy among the Cymric clergy in this assembly obtained for it the title of 'The Synod of Victory.'

Excepting the fierce conflicts attendant upon the subjugation (A.D. 530) of Vectis (the Isle of Wight), which already lay within the sanguinary grasp of the invaders,

[1] Gildas, § 26; Nennius, § 50; Bede, book i. c. xvi. xxii.; Saxon Chronicle, A. 527; Ethelwerd's Chronicle, A. 527; Annales Cambriæ, A. 516; Florence of Worcester, A. 527; Gibson's Camden's Brit. ed. 1772, vol. i. p. 188; Sammes, Brit. Antiq. Illus. p. 404; Milton, Hist. of Britain, Bohn's ed. book iii. p. 260; Gibbon, Decline and Fall, vol. iii. c. xxxviii. pp. 427–429; Palgrave, Rise and Progress, part i. c. xii.; Turner, Hist. of the Anglo-Saxons, vol. i. book iii. c. iii. pp. 282, 283.

[2] Lansdown.

the battle of Badon Hill was the last ever fought by Cerdic. That bold adventurer died A.D. 534, and left to Cynric, his son, the kingdom of the West Saxons. Checked by the prowess of King Arthur, the Teutonic tribes troubled him no more, and the country rested from warfare until his rebellious kinsman, Medrod, heading the faction of Romanized Britons, brought a hostile army into the field of Camlan, where Medrod was slain in battle, and King Arthur received a mortal wound,[1] of which he died soon afterwards at Afallon[2] (Glastonbury), about A.D. 542.[3]

Previous to the Roman invasion, the office of Pendragon[4] had been only occasional: during the occupation of Britain by the Romans, the natives had become familiarized with elective and hereditary emperors: after the departure of the Romans, ever-recurring invasions, combined with the revival from abeyance of ancient usage, and with the effect of recent habit to establish a regular series of kings paramount, whose rule was rather a continuation of imperial power[5] than a modification of dictatorial authority, although partaking of both.

§ 5. An ancient college at Bangor Iscoed,[6] in Maelor, was changed into a monastery during the reign of Cyngen ab Cadell, king of Powys, who liberally endowed it. The community rapidly increased in number, and at last comprised no less than 2,100 men, who were associated in bands of 300, each band being

[1] Annales Cambriæ, 537.

[2] Geoffrey of Monmouth, book xi. c. ii.

[3] Rees's Welsh Saints, p. 200.

[4] Cæsar, De Bel. Gal. lib. v. c. 9; Tacitus, Agric. c. xxvii.; Ann. lib. xii. c. xxxvii.

[5] Palgrave, Rise and Progress, part i. c. xviii. p. 563; Herbert, Brit. after the Romans, vol. i. c. v. p. 141.

[6] Bede, book ii. c. ii.; Gibson's Camden's Brit. ed. 1772, vol. i. p. 480.

CHAP. VII.

under a several ruler, though subject to one president, and all of them maintained by the labour of their own hands. The princely Dunawd, once a renowned warrior, was at their head, and most of these studious and industrious recluses were noble or clerical British fugitives.

About the period A.D. 500–542, bands of the Gwyddyl Ffichti, having invaded Brycheiniog, were forcibly expelled by the renowned Caradog Ffraichfras,[1] whose mother was the saintly Gwen of Talgarth, granddaughter of Brychan, and whose father was Llyr Merini, a Cornish prince.

Still more illustrious was Urien[2] Rheged, a Cymro of North Britain, who, spending his youth as an emigrant in Demetia, led the forces of that extensive region against the rebellious interlopers who had been formerly reduced to slavery, and drove them entirely out of the country. He thus obtained the sovereignty of all the lands lying between the rivers Towy and Tawe, comprising Gwyr, Cydweli, Carnwyllion, Iscennin, and Cantref Bychan; and gave to this territory the name of his paternal inheritance in North Britain. Having thus insured to his posterity the possession of a Rheged, Urien returned to his native district, which he bravely wrested from the Angles, and made the standing-point of a long and valorous resistance, opposed to the advance of Ida the Flame-bearer. Urien Rheged not only held that ferocious chief at bay, but had almost succeeded in expelling him from the country, when envious dissensions arose among his own followers,

[1] Williams's Enwogion Cymru, p. 65; Rees's Welsh Saints, p. 202.

[2] Nennius, § 63; Turner's Hist. of the Anglo-Saxons, ed. 1836, vol. i. book iii. c. iv. pp. 300–303; Williams's Enwogion Cymru, pp. 504–505; Rees's Welsh Saints, pp. 202, 203.

which impeded his patriotic work; and while laying siege to the Isle of Lindisfarn, in which Deoric, the son of Ida, had found refuge, the Cymric hero was assassinated by Llofan Llawdifo, his fellow-countryman. His military achievements are extolled in some of the finest poems of the contemporary bards[1] Llywarch Hên and Taliesin. After the death of Urien Rheged, the Anglian invaders made steady progress in the conquest of North-eastern Britain, though vigorously opposed by the sons of Urien, and by other Cymric chiefs.

To this period belongs 'The Gododin'[2] of the contemporary bard Aneurin, son of Caw, lord of Cwmcawllwyd, a chief of the Ottadini. Taliesin mentions that the renowned Urien led the men of Cattraeth to victory at the battle of Gwenystrad. 'The Gododin' describes a disastrous expedition of the Ottadeni, under Rhufain, their chief, against Cattraeth (Catterick), then evidently in possession of Anglian foes, and the slaughter of the 360 warriors, who, exhilarated by mead, had provoked an unequal conflict. Three only escaped, of whom Aneurin was one.

§ 6. Constantine ab Cadwr,[3] otherwise called Cystennyn Goronwg, succeeded to King Arthur's sovereignty, A.D. 542. His reign was brief and uneventful. He is thought to have been a Cornish king, but the Constantine of Gildas, usually identified with him, is much more likely to have been his kinsman and heir. After a short interval of contention, Maelgwn Gwy-

[1] Palgrave, Rise and Progress, part i. c. xii. p. 402, note; Literary Remains of the Rev. Thomas Price, vol. i. pp. 130–138; Skene's Four Ancient Books of Wales, vol. i. pp. 341–367.

[2] Turner's Hist. of the Anglo-Saxons, ed. 1836, vol. i. book iii. c. iv. pp. 306–314; Ab Ithel's Preface to his Translation of the Gododin; Skene's Four Ancient Books of Wales, vol. i. c. i. pp. 6–8.

[3] Williams's Enwogion Cymru, p. 98; Gildas, § 28; Herbert's Brit. after the Romans, vol. i. c. v. pp. 141–171.

CHAP. VII.

nedd obtained general recognition as Brenhin y Britanyeit[1] in the full extent of the Britannia Secunda; Strath Clyde and Cumbria, including all the remaining territories of the Cymry in North Britain; the Western peninsula, and all those districts of ancient Lloegyr, which remained unsubdued by the Teutonic tribes, A.D. 546. Maelgwn Gwynedd,[2] the son of Caswallawn Law Hîr, possessed all the majestic and graceful attributes which realize to the eye fancy's image of a great sovereign. Besides these personal advantages, his mental sagacity, his courtesy, bounty, and valour, attracted general admiration. Unbridled passions plunged him into heinous misdeeds, and feelings of compunction impelled him to many noble actions. Once in early life he had renounced the world and assumed the habit of a monk, but breaking his vows and disregarding all moral obligations, he resumed his royal rank and entered anew upon a course of ambition, wickedness, and compunction. His military prowess, his superior ability, and his political importance marked him out nevertheless as a fitting Pendragon for resolute men.

In the year 547, Ida established the Anglian kingdom of Bryneich (Bernicia), which extended from the Frith of Forth to the Tees, and from the sea to the Penine Chain. Anglian swarms, led by Ælla, afterwards established the kingdom of Deira, which extended from the Tees to the Humber, and from the sea to the Penine Chain; that mountain range forming a series of natural fortifications, well garrisoned by the native Cymry, who held the western districts.

[1] Ancient Laws and Institutes of Wales, edited by Aneurin Owen for the Record Com. folio ed. pp. 412, 413.

[2] Gildas, §§ 33–35; Nennius, § 62; Geoffrey of Monmouth, book xi. c. vii.; Milton, Hist. of Britain, p. 265.

CHAP. VII.

§ 7. Gildas,[1] the oldest British historian whose works are extant, states, in somewhat ambiguous words, that he was born in the year of the battle of Badon Hill. He wrote in Latin and quoted Virgil, the Ecclesiastical Fathers, and the Holy Scriptures of both Testaments. At the conclusion of his history,[2] he laments the continued desolation of the cities which foreign invaders had ravaged and burnt, and bewails the prevalence of civil strife which prevented the restoration of those cities, but he alludes to the war with the invaders as a thing of the past. Setting forth a wonderful recovery, a present prosperity, without reference to any likelihood of future danger, he vehemently rebukes in his epistle the vices which careless ease had fostered in the kings, magistrates, clergy, and people, his countrymen and contemporaries. He apostrophizes, with violent invectives, Constantine, king of Damnonia, Aurelius Conanus (king of Powys), Vortiper (Gwrthyver), king of Demetia (Dyfed), Cwnglas (king of Gwent), and Maelgwn[3] (king of Gwynedd), whom he calls Dragon of the Island, alluding, as is generally believed, to Mona, a part of that prince's hereditary dominions, although the description of Maelgwyn's power and the allusion to his offences against the DIVINE KING OF KINGS, plainly indicate that Gildas regarded him prospectively at least as the supreme sovereign of all that was left of the monarchy of Britain (Unbennaeth Prydain), the Pendragon, Gwledig, and Brenhin y Britanyeit.

From the bitter reproaches which Gildas addresses to the British clergy, it appears that celibacy was not enjoined upon them, that church appointments were

[1] Mon. Hist. Brit. Preface, pp. 59–62; Herbert, Brit. after the Romans, Introd. pp. xiv.–xxiii. and Digression i.; Macray's Manual of British Historians, pp. 1, 2; Rees's Welsh Saints, pp. 225–227.

[2] Gildas, § 26.

[3] Ibid. §§ 33–35.

CHAP. VII.

sought by ungodly men from venal motives, and that idle ecclesiastics were addicted to dramatic entertainments. He treats kings and clergy alike as almost hopeless reprobates, and denounces divine judgments upon them in a savage and merciless spirit, better fitted to Druidical imprecation than to pastoral exhortation.

From such indiscriminate, exaggerated, and unbalanced representations, it is refreshing to turn to particular and well-authenticated instances of godliness, piety, and charity.

§ 8. It is recorded of Dewi, that he laboured as a missionary throughout his province and beyond it, extending his pastoral care to the Western Peninsula. His whole life afforded a consistent example of practical piety and unwearied beneficence. His learning and eloquence, rank, station, and fortune, were entirely consecrated to God's service in promoting the real welfare of all classes of people. In their sickness he was their friend, in their troubles their adviser, in their poverty their most kind and bountiful benefactor. He refused all compensation from the wealthy, subjected himself to no worldly obligations, and perseveringly sought, alike through heart-touching kindnesses and sacred ministrations, to arouse the people to seek for spiritual honour, glory, and immortality. He died between the years 544 and 566.[1] He is said to have been eminently handsome, of lofty stature, and a beautiful countenance. The superstitious reverence of subsequent ages attempted to embellish his fame[2] with fictitious miracles; but such intervening clouds of error

[1] Annales Cambriæ, A.D. 601, notes 3 and 4; Rees's Welsh Saints, p. 201.

[2] Canu i Ddewi Gwynfardd Brycheiniawg a'i Cant, with Translation and Notes in Appendix to Williams of Nantmel's Dissert. on the Pelagian Heresy.

cannot hide the steadfast light shining out through the depths of time from a dark and stormy epoch. The churches which still bear his name are very numerous.

Cynog,[1] second bishop of Llanbadarn, succeeded Dewi in the primacy, and in the bishopric of Menevia, which was known from that time by the name of its most illustrious prelate as Ty Ddewi (the House of David).

On the death of Archbishop Cynog, Teilo, second bishop of Llandaff, obtained the primacy, which had then become attached to the bishopric of Ty Ddewi. He not only held that diocese in conjunction with his former one, but blended them together, fixed the archiepiscopal see at Llandaff, and employed Ismael, his nephew, as suffragan of Ty Ddewi, without apportioning to him a separate jurisdiction. Teilo's bright reputation is tarnished by the fact, that in consequence of a dreadful plague, which afflicted Cymru, he withdrew into Cornwall, and thence to Armorica, and thus stayed away seven years when his presence was most needed at home.

§ 9. Deiniol[2] ab Dunawd of Bangor Iscoed, founded a monastery called Bangor Fawr in Arfon, which Maelgwn Gwynedd erected into an episcopal see, and endowed about the year 550, making Deiniol the first bishop of Bangor. Cyndern, surnamed Mwyngu (the amiable) an epithet, since distorted into Mungo, was a prince of the race of Urien, and had been bishop of Penryn Rhionydd (Glasgow), when he found refuge from the foreign and domestic strife of North Britain in Gwynedd. There, with the aid of a local chief, he attempted to establish the see of Llan Elwy, but was thwarted in his beneficent purpose by the powerful

[1] Rees's Welsh Saints, p. 242. [2] Ibid. 258–262.

CHAP. VII.

Maelgwn, until that extraordinary man, under a penitential impulse, liberally endowed and established it, appointing Cyndern to be the first bishop of Llan Elwy. This is supposed to have been done soon after the foundation of the bishopric of Bangor.

It is recorded, that the bard Taliesin, being in the presence of King Maelgwn, denounced vengeance against him in verse for his wrong, treacherous, and cruel actions, and that the conscience-stricken monarch suffered the audacious imprecator to depart unharmed.

In the year 552, Cynric, king of Wessex, attacked Caersallog (Old Sarum) and worsted the opposing Britons. In the year 556, Cynric and his coadjutor Ceawlin were defeated in a battle near Marlborough by the Britons. This important victory, gained by King Maelgwn, checked and retarded for fourteen years the progress of the West Saxons; nevertheless, predatory bands of Angles made ravaging inroads upon Central Britain, and upon the fertile[1] eastern lands of the Britannia Secunda.

Llywarch Hên, after having lost his valiant sons fighting against Ida, had fled from the north and found a hospitable home for his desolate old age with Cynddylan, king of Powys. In one of his finest elegies, this bard deplores the death of his royal benefactor, slain in defending Pengwern (Shrewsbury), the capital of Powys, which was burnt by the Anglian invaders.

In the poems of this bard, the customs and manners of his time may still be seen. The plough tracing the furrow drawn by oxen; glass and horn drinking-vessels; golden shields, spurs, and ornaments; coffins of black boards, funeral mounds of earth and stones

[1] Turner, History of the Anglo-Saxons, vol. i. book iii. c. iv. p. 319.

covered with green sward, and set with oak saplings are there.

Rhydderch Ḥael, a king of the Northern Cymry, having recalled Cyndeyrn, as Pen Esgob, to the bishopric of Glasgow, about the year 560, Asaf ab Sawl succeeded him at Llan Elwy, and the English have ever since attached Asaf's name to that see.

Meanwhile, the incursions of the Angles continued, and extended to the Severn and Dee.

Some such marauders penetrated even to the native Arfon of the Pendragon. They met with the due reward of their temerity, but the corpses of the unburied slain caused a plague, which thinned the population of Gwynedd." The aged king, under a superstitious panic, resumed the habit of a monk, and forsaking his palace at Penrhyn and his castle of Tyganwy, shut himself up in the neighbouring church of Llanrhos, where he died[1] of the malady from which he had fled, A. D. 566.

[1] Annales Cambriæ, A. 547; Red Book of Hergest. Camb. Reg. vol. ii. p. 312, A.D. 586; Rees's Welsh Saints, pp. 242, 273, and note, A.D. 566; Skene's Four Ancient Books of Wales, vol. i. c. iv. pp. 47–48, about A.D. 566.

CHAPTER VIII.

THE CYMRY AND THE SAXONS.

FROM THE DEATH OF MAELGWN GWYNEDD TO THE DEATH OF CADWALLAWN AB CADFAN, A.D. 566-634.

Heaven's high will
Permits a second and a darker shade
Of Pagan night. Afflicted and dismayed
The relics of the sword flee to the mountains:
Oh wretched land, whose tears have flowed like fountains,
Whose arts and honours in the dust are laid.
WORDSWORTH: *Ecclesiastical Sonnets*, part. i. ix.

CHAP. VIII.

§ 1. IT is observable that the Saxon chroniclers indicate the defeat of their compatriots only by omitting[1] to state the result of a recorded battle; and also, that while they mention the leaders who made good their footing on the coasts in defiance of opposition, they say nothing of those who with their hosts and fleets approached the shores only to perish by the swords and torches of the Britons.

Inch by inch, the British kings and chieftains parted with the soil and left it reeking with their blood; while the peasants, who fondly clung to it, sank into its mere appendages,[2] and became hereditary bondsmen. There were, however, many districts, where the native kings

[1] Gibbon, Decline and Fall, ed. 1846, vol. iii. c. xxxviii. p. 427; Milton's Hist. of Britain, Bohn's ed. book iii. p. 260.

[2] Palgrave's Rise and Progress of the English Commonwealth, part i. c. v. pp. 152–154; Turner's Hist. of the Anglo-Saxons, vol. i. book iii. c. iv. p. 325; Gibbon, Decline and Fall, ed. 1846, vol. iii. c. xxxviii. pp. 432–433.

being slain, great numbers of chieftains with their people yielded obedience to the invaders, and retaining their own internal government, and preserving their holy faith, continued to constitute separate communities[1] under the Teutonic kings.

Great numbers of warriors, bards, and ministers of religion fled from the conquered to the unconquered states, and many sought refuge[2] from pursuing fire and sword in the Channel Islands, in Ireland, and in Armorica.

Manuscripts of the Bible were scarce, and a copy could only be obtained by persons capable either of paying a high price, or making a transcript. There are some intimations in the Triads that certain books of the New Testament[3] once existed in the Cymraeg, but allowing that such was the case, the majority of the Britons would still have been wholly dependent upon the ministers for an acquaintance with their contents, while those ministers must usually have delivered only piecemeal texts from other portions of Holy Writ, translated from the Latin by themselves. The bishops[4] being massacred, the rest of the clergy either shared their fate, or were left without maintenance, to starve or emigrate, for the pagan Teutons regarded them with peculiar malignity. The unlearned and unlettered people being thus left for several generations habitually surrounded and over-awed by sanguinary and wassail-loving masters, few were enabled to resist the deadening atmosphere of pre-eminent opinion, and the contagious influence of bad example. Those of the Britons, therefore, who became intermingled with the Teutons soon

[1] Palgrave, Rise and Progress of the English Commonwealth, part i. c. xii. p. 410.

[2] Ibid. part i. c. v. pp. 152–154.

[3] Herbert's Brit. after the Romans, vol. ii c. vi. p. 147.

[4] Gibbon, Decline and Fall, ed. 1846, vol. iii. c. xxxviii. p. 431.

CHAP. VIII.

learned their works and ways and sunk into religious apostasy.

§ 2. In apparent opposition to the imperial claims of the Pendragon kings of all Britain, the most powerful among the Teutonic rulers had early assumed the title of Bretwalda, and exercised supreme authority[1] over the rest; excepting only the Northern Angles, who never acknowledged the superiority of a southern sovereign.

The year 568[2] is remarkable as the æra when the Teutonic settlers in Britain first entered upon hostilities against each other, Ethelbert, the youthful and ambitious king of Kent, having then attempted to enlarge his territories by seizing upon Surrey, was beaten back with great loss by Ceawlin, king of Wessex, and by Ceawlin's brother Cuthalf, and vanquished in a great battle at Wimbledon.

In the year 571, Cuthalf of Wessex wrested from the Britons by force of arms the townships of Bedford, Aylesbury, Benson, and Eynsham. In[3] 577, Ceawlin, king of Wessex and second Bretwalda, assisted by his brother Cuthalf, fought a great battle against the combined British forces, slew three local kings, and seized possession of the important cities of Gloucester, Cirencester, and Bath, thereby obtaining entrance at will into South Wales and the Western Peninsula. This was one of the heaviest blows ever struck against the freedom of the Britons.

In 584, Ceawlin the Bretwalda and his brother Cuthalf engaged in another sanguinary conflict with

[1] Bede, book ii. c. v.; Palgrave, Rise and Progress, part i. c. xviii. p. 563.

[2] Saxon Chronicle; Ethelwerd's Chronicle; Florence of Worcester.

[3] Saxon Chronicle, A. 577; Ethelwerd's Chronicle, A. 577; Florence of Worcester, 577; William of Malmesbury, book i. c. ii.

the Britons, and although the Wessex troops sacked many towns and secured abundant spoils, Cuthalf was killed in the strife, and the Bretwalda was forced to retreat in savage and wrathful sorrow[1] to his own home. His dominions at this time included Hampshire, Wiltshire, Oxfordshire, Buckinghamshire, Gloucestershire, Dorsetshire, and part of Somersetshire, besides Sussex, which Ceawlin annexed to his kingdom on the death of Cissa its king.

§ 3. In the year 586, Crida, following in the steps and over the corpses of many previous invaders, succeeded at length, with the assistance of the Northumbrians, in founding the Anglian kingdom of Mercia. The out-lying territories of the Britannia Secunda, in Gloucestershire, Worcestershire, Herefordshire, Shropshire, and Cheshire, were torn away from Cymrû, and included in the new state, which also comprehended the central and principal parts of the Flavia Cæsariensis.

Ceawlin having made himself generally detested, his ambitious nephew, Ceolric, formed a league with the Angles and with the Cymry, and took the field with their allied forces. This is the first instance which history affords of the natives fighting side by side with the invaders. A terrific battle ensued, but, after great slaughter, Ceawlin was defeated, and fled from his throne, a homeless wanderer,[2] and Ceolric retained possession of the kingdom of Wessex for six subsequent years.

In 597,[3] upon the death of Ceolric, his brother Ceolwulf ascended the throne of Wessex, and through-

[1] Saxon Chronicle, A. 584; Ethelwerd's Chronicle, A. 584; Florence of Worcester, 584.

[2] Saxon Chronicle, A. 591; Ethelwerd's Chronicle, A. 592; Florence of Worcester A. 592.

[3] Saxon Chronicle; Ethelwerd's Chronicle; Florence of Worcester.

CHAP. VIII.

out a turbulent reign kept up incessant wars with the Britons, the Scots, the Irish, and the Angles.

Meanwhile, Ethelfrith, grandson of Ida, and king of Bernicia and Deira, was actively engaged in reducing the Northern Cymry to subjection; enslaving some, rendering others tributary, and endeavouring to extend the boundaries of his dominions. A confederacy was formed against him by the Cymry of the districts generally known as the kingdom of Strath Clyde, by the Cymry of Cumbria, then including Cumberland, Westmoreland, and Lancashire, joined by the free tribes of Alban and the Scots. Their formidable array, led by Aidan, king of the Scots, encountered Ethelfrith and his host at Dagsatan, A.D. 603. The battle was conducted on both sides with military skill and dauntless courage.[1] The brother of the King of the Northumbrians was slain, and his battalion was wholly cut off in the deadly conflict, but at length the Britons gave way, no quarter was asked for or granted, and, excepting King Aidan and a few followers who escaped, the army of the country was reduced to a heap of carnage.

§ 4. Ethelbert,[2] king of Kent and Bretwalda, having married Bertha, daughter of Charibert, king of Paris, had been prepossessed in favour of Christianity, by the exemplary life of her chaplain, Bishop Luidhard. A mission, sent from Rome to Britain by Pope Gregory, consisting of Augustine and forty other monks, was consequently directed by the Franks to the Kentish coast, where it arrived laden with presents and accompanied by interpreters. In the course of a few years, the king became a Christian convert, and Augustine, being firmly established as archbishop of Canterbury,

[1] Bede, book i. c. xxxiv.; Saxon Chronicle; Florence of Worcester.

[2] Bede, book i. c. xxv. xxvi.

thought it necessary that the prelates of the ancient British Church should be brought under the ecclesiastical jurisdiction with which Pope Gregory had ventured to invest him. The Bretwalda, desiring to obtain from the British kings a recognition of his own political supremacy, gladly concurred with his archbishop in a scheme which, if successful, must involve the complete subjugation of the British to the Teutonic race. He therefore proposed a solemn conference[1] between the Kentish and the Cymric clergy, and it was accepted by the latter without hesitation, A.D. 603. The place of meeting is traditionally believed to have been Aust, on the banks of the Severn. Archbishop Augustine, wearing probably the pall of supreme authority, and accompanied by his clergy, addressed to the British clergy an admonitory speech, proposing that they should join with him in preaching the gospel to the heathen, and reminding them that they celebrated Easter at a wrong time, and that they did several other things contrary to the common practice of the Christian church. Discussion ensued, and in spite of the exhortations and rebukes of Augustine and his coadjutors, the Britons declared that they preferred their own traditions to the opinions of other churches. Upon this Augustine, by way of proving the truth of his assertions, called forward an Angle, alleged to be blind, and after submitting him in vain to the adverse party for cure, knelt down, prayed aloud for power to work a miracle for their conviction, arose, and obtained the patient's acknowledgment that he was restored to sight. This performance so greatly affected the British clergy that they owned the teaching of Augustine must be right; nevertheless, they declared that they had no power to

[1] Bede, book ii. c. ii.

CHAP. VIII.

abrogate their ancient customs without national consent, and desired that a second conference might be held at which their church could be more numerously represented. This having been agreed upon, and the time and place for it fixed, the Cymric clergy spent the intervening period in anxious cogitations. In their perplexity they had recourse to a sage and holy hermit, whose name has not transpired. 'Tell us,' they said, 'whether we ought or ought not, at the bidding of Augustine, to forsake our old traditions.' The hermit answered, 'Follow him if he is a man of God.' 'How shall we ascertain that?' they responded; and were told that they might test it by his meek and lowly, or by his stern and haughty, demeanour. On questioning their oracle still farther as to the means by which the character of Augustine might be made manifest, they were directed to allow him to arrive before them at the appointed place of assembly, so that his manner of receiving them might sufficiently assure them either of his pride or humility, and decide at once whether they should hear his words submissively or not. Among the eminently learned Cymry who attended this synod were many of the monks belonging to the great monastery of Bangor Iscoed, together with their aged abbot Dunawd and seven bishops of the ancient British church: five of the seven were, of course, the bishops of Ty Ddewi, Llandaff, Llanbadarn, Bangor, and St. Asaf; the other two were most likely the bishops of Chester and Hereford. These venerable representatives of all that remained of the clergy of Great Britain were more numerous than the foreigners whom Augustine had brought with him on this occasion, yet he kept his seat on their arrival with a lordly appearance of superiority; little thinking that his doing so insured

the disappointment of his ambitious project. Annoyed at their evident prejudice against him, Augustine made a summary proposition, that the British clergy should keep Easter and administer baptism according to the custom of the Roman Church, and that they should join with the ordained clergy of that church in preaching the Gospel to the heathen Jutes, Angles, and Saxons. On these conditions he offered to tolerate all other customs of theirs which differed from those of his own hierarchy.

The British clergy answered through Dunawd[1] their spokesman, that they would do none of those things, nor would they receive him as their primate; that in the bonds of love and charity[2] they all were willing to be the subjects and servants of the Church of God, and of every good Christian, and even of the Pope of Rome, helping them forward by word and deed to be the true children of God. Other obedience they disclaimed, being governed, under their Heavenly Lord, by the Bishop of Caerleon.

Provoked by this refusal, and willing to set himself forth as a prophet as well as a worker of miracles, Augustine said in a threatening tone, that since they would not unite with brethren they should be made war upon by enemies; and since they would not preach the way of life to the Angles, they should suffer from that nation deadly vengeance.

§ 5. Failing to obtain jurisdiction over the Cymric bishops, Augustine consecrated two Romans,[3] one for the East Saxons as bishop of London, and one for the kingdom of Kent as bishop of Rochester. In

A.D. 604.

[1] Geoffrey of Monmouth, book xi. c. xii.; Milton, Hist. of Britain, Bohn's ed. book v. p. 273.

[2] Rees's Welsh Saints, p. 290, note from Spelman's Concilia.

[3] Bede, book ii. c. iii.

31003

CHAP. VIII.

the same year he died, and was succeeded by Laurentius[1] in the archbishopric of Canterbury. This primate did not confine his pastoral care to his own people, but extended it to the Britons and to the Irish.

In an epistle to the Scots (Irish) he avows that he had come to Britain without possessing any previous knowledge of the people, but holding both the Britons and Scots in high esteem for their reputed sanctity. This opinion, he says, had been changed much for the worse by the conduct of Bishop Dagan and Columba the Abbot, which proved their deviation from the usage of the Universal Church in the time of keeping Easter and in other observances.

Laurentius addressed a similar epistle to the Britons. Bede, in describing it, says, that it was 'suitable to his rank,' intimating also that neither a verbal acknowledgment of supremacy, nor an act of submission to the see of Canterbury, could be extorted from the Cymric bishops, who resolutely stood out against 'Catholic unity' in the Roman sense of that term.

There can be no doubt that the Ancient British and Irish Churches did celebrate Easter at a wrong time, but the error is to be ascribed to an erroneous calendar, rather than to heterodox opinions. They also, to the horror of the Roman priests, used the crescent-shaped tonsure of the front of the head, instead of the circular tonsure of its crown.[2] The difference in the administration of baptism is believed to have consisted in the Romanists of that period using three immersions, and the Britons one.

§ 6. Pursuing his course of conquest towards the south-west, King Ethelfrith fought his way to Chester. Near that city, he found Brochwael, king of Powys, and his

[1] Bede, book ii. c. iv.

[2] Ibid. book v. c. xxi. xxii.

little army drawn up to oppose his progress, and apart from the military array, and out of the way of hostile collision,[1] he saw, with surprise, an unarmed band of grave and reverend men. Inquiring who they were, and what they did there, the pagan king was told that they were ministers of the Christian religion, and most of them monks of Bangor Iscoed, who had assembled to pray for the success of their countrymen. 'Verily,' remarked the ruthless warrior, 'although they bear no weapons, they fight against us by their prayers to God;' and giving the word of command for a body of his troops to charge, he viewed the massacre of the defenceless men with savage joy. Brochwael,[2] struck with panic at the spectacle, fled from the field, followed by a few swift-footed monks.

Ethelfrith and his mighty host having defeated the troops which valiantly opposed him, proceeded to ravage the country, destroying the monastery of Bangor Iscoed, levelling its walls with the earth, and burning its library, which is said to have contained the most precious national records of the Cymry.

§ 7. Meanwhile the crown of Gwynedd had descended[3] through Rhun ab Maelgwn, from father to son, until it rested on the head of Cadfan ab Iago. He is said to have joined with Brochwael, king of Powys, and with other native rulers, in mustering the British forces, which he led against Ethelfrith, whom he encountered on the banks of the Dee, slaying more than 10,000 men, forcing him to abandon Chester, to retreat towards his old dominions, and to accept conditions of

[1] Bede, book ii. c. ii. latter part; Saxon Chronicle, A. 607; Ethelwerd's Chronicle; William of Malmesbury, book i. c. iii.

[2] Saxon Chronicle, A. 607.

[3] Skene's Four Ancient Books of Wales, vol. i. 'Dialogue between Merddyn and Gwendydd,' pp. 462–466.

CHAP. VIII.

peace. A congress of Britons, held at Chester (A.D. 607), elected Cadfan[1] king of all Britain, with demonstrations of peculiar honour. A stone monument, used in recent times as the lintel of the south door of Llancadwaladyr Church, Denbighshire, bears a Latin inscription, which in characters peculiar to the seventh century records his fame, as the wisest and most highly estimated king of all kings.

Edwin,[2] a prince of the Northern Angles, had been saved in infancy from the exterminating jealousy of King Ethelfrith, conveyed to the court of Gwynedd, and brought up with princely kindness by Cadfan. That king's refusal to deliver up the fugitive is said to have provoked Ethelfrith's hostility, and, on the establishment of peace between them, Edwin fled for refuge to Redwald, king of the East Angles, and Bretwalda, A.D. 616. A war ensued between Ethelfrith and Redwald, and in a conflict on the banks of the Iddel, the former was defeated and slain, his sons fled to Scotland, and Edwin ascended the Northumbrian throne,[3] A.D. 617.

Cadwallawn,[4] the son of King Cadfan, married a daughter of Pybba, king of Mercia, and of his second wife, a West Saxon princess of the line of Cerdic.

§ 8. The death of Cadfan and the accession of Cadwallawn to the throne of Gwynedd are usually assigned to the year 630. Edwin was then Bretwalda, and Cadwallawn's election as Pendragon appears to have been a signal between them for mortal strife. The Cymro

[1] Gibson's Camden's Brit. ed. 1772, vol. ii. p. 62; Herbert's Brit. after the Romans, vol. i. c. v. pp. 141–171; Arch. Camb. 1846, pp. 165–168.

[2] Turner's History of the Anglo-Saxons, ed. 1836, book iii. c. vii. pp. 346, 347, and note 27.

[3] Saxon Chronicle; Annales Cambriæ.

[4] Turner's Hist. of the Anglo-Saxons, ed. 1836, vol. i. book iii. c. vii. pp. 360–364; Brut y Tywysogion, 2nd entry.

refused to yield homage and tribute to the Angle, and attempting to regain authority in the northern states, was vanquished in battle by King Edwin, who, forgetful of former obligations, carried the war across the Severn, and, after a victorious campaign, drove his former playmate and fellow student even out of Gwynedd and Mona; and Cadwallawn with his family and many martial retainers found refuge for some time in Ireland. Passing thence into Armorica, a land of British resort, and gathering strong forces there, he took a favourable opportunity of returning to his hereditary kingdom. Being firmly re-instated at home, and aided by his tributary sovereigns, he formed an alliance with Penda, his still pagan brother-in law, and marched with their united armies into the Northumbrian territories, of which the kingdom of Mercia had hitherto been accounted a dependency.

Merddyn had predicted the return of King Arthur with victory, songs of peace and horns of gladness proclaiming security and happiness to the Cymry. Taliesin had foretold, in vehement strains, the final expulsion of the Teutons after the lapse of three hundred years from their arrival. The recollection of the residence and departure of the Romans gave a specious value to such prophecies, the hearts of the Britons re-echoed them, and Cadwallawn, an enrolled bard although a warrior, believed, while exulting in a triumphant career, that the hour of national deliverance was already at hand, and that he himself was born for the extermination[1] of the Angles.

Under the date 633, the Saxon Chronicle mentions that King Edwin was slain in battle at Heathfield (Meigen[2]), fighting against Cadwallawn, king of the

[1] William of Malmesbury, book i. c. iii. [2] Nennius, § 61.

CHAP. VIII.

Britons, and Penda, king of Mercia, and that they laid waste the whole country of the Northumbrians. The tradition of St. David's use of the leek had rendered that herb dear to Cymric memory, and Cadwallawn's troops are said to have worn it for the first time at Meigen as a national badge. Under the date 634, the Saxon Chronicle records that Osric, the son of Elfric, succeeded to the kingdom of Deira, and Eanfrid, the son of Ethelfrid, to the kingdom of Bernicia; and, omitting all allusion to Cadwallawn, asserts that in the same year Oswald succeeded to the kingdom of the Northumbrians, and reigned nine years, the ninth, it says, being reckoned to him because of the heathenism practised by those who had reigned during the year which intervened between his accession and the death of King Edwin.

The prejudiced but honest and ever Venerable Bede, in the first chapter of the third book of his 'Ecclesiastical History,' explains this mysterious entry by stating that the exiled princes, who after King Edwin's death returned to fill the thrones of Deira and Bernicia, became apostates in their prosperity, and worshipped idols; that, very soon afterwards, Cadwallawn slew them both, seized upon their dominions, and ruled over them with an absolute, arbitrary, and cruel sway throughout a whole year; and that Oswald, the brother of Eanfrid, then brought an army against Cadwallawn, who was slain at the battle of Denisburn.[1] To hide the apostasy of the Anglian kings, and the subjugation of their realms to the heavy yoke of the British king, Bede avows that the Chroniclers had agreed to omit all mention of those perfidious monarchs, and to assign the

[1] Nennius, § 64; Florence of Worcester, Origin of the Kings of Deira, and Chronicle, A.D. 633, 634.

year really occupied by the reign of Cadwallawn to that of the next following king, and he re-iterates the declaration in book iii. chapter ix.

Contemporary Bards expressed in nobly pathetic verse[1] the disappointment and grief of the Britons at the defeat and death of their hero.

[1] Skene's Four Ancient Books of Wales, vol. i. pp. 431–435, vol. ii. pp. 204, &c.

CHAPTER IX.

THE CYMRY AND THE SAXONS.

FROM THE ACCESSION OF CADWALADYR TO THE DEATH OF CYNAN TINDARTHWY, A.D. 634–819.

'Tis man's bold task the generous strife to try,
But in the hands of God is victory.
POPE'S *Iliad*, book vii. lines 117, 118.

CHAP. VIII.

§ 1. THE words Wales and Welsh[1] are corruptions of Teutonic epithets applied to a land of Celtic strangers and to a strange people.

The Saxon settlers in Britain called the Cymry Bret-wealhas, the Cymry of North Britain Strath-clæd-wealhas, and the Cornish people Cern-wealhas. The term Walcher seems to have been used by the Teutonic race as generally descriptive of a Gaul.

§ 2. The same love of liberty, the same vigorous efforts to retain it, the same persistent endeavour through successive centuries to regain it, characterize the Britons of Roman and of Saxon times. For nearly 200 years after the arrival of Hengist, the harassed people continued to elect a Pendragon, thus declaring their claims to national independence and supreme sovereignty.

The Northern Cymry, stoutly resisting all assailants, had proved themselves worthy of Venutius and their forefathers, and still held the districts lying between

[1] Palgrave, Rise and Progress, part i. c. xii. p. 410; Herbert, Brit. after the Romans.

the Frith of Clyde and the estuary of the Dee, and westward of the Penine Chain, long known as the native kingdom of Strath Clyde and Cumbria.

The Britons of Cornwall and the chief part of Devon still lived under native princes, and attached themselves to the King of Gwynedd, whose dominions comprehended the whole of the country between Chester and Gloucester, and were bounded on the east by the rivers Dee and Severn. Gloucester was lost, but Chester was again their own, together with fertile territories often overrun but not yet torn away by the Mercians and West Saxons.

The oldest Saxon records[1] clearly show that the conquest was slowly and laboriously wrought by sagacious leaders of martial hosts, receiving incessant and multitudinous[2] reinforcements, using the most strenuous military efforts, ruthless conflagrations, and ferocious massacres. After a conflict of two hundred years,[3] in which the invaders had exhausted their populous native hordes, and expended all their terrible powers of devastation, they were constrained to secure peaceable and permanent possession of their new homes by appeasing the hatred of the vanquished Britons.

§ 3. Cadwaladyr, the son of Cadwallawn, became king of Gwynedd on the death of his father,[4] and was the last native British sovereign ever elected to the dignity of king[5] of all Britain (Brenhin Prydain oll).

In the year 658, the Britons of the Western Penin-

[1] Bede's Eccl. Hist.; The Saxon Chronicle; Ethelwerd's Chronicle; Asser's Life of Alfred.

[2] Nennius, § 50.

[3] Gibbon, Decline and Fall, ed. 1846, vol. iii. c. xxxviii. p. 433.

[4] Saxon Chronicle, A. 634; Bede, book iii. c. i. A.D. 634; Geoffrey of Monmouth, book xii. c. xiv.

[5] Herbert, Brit. after the Romans, vol. i. c. v. p. 171; Rees's Welsh Saints, pp. 299–301; Brut y Tywysogion, 2nd entry.

CHAP. IX.

sula made a great effort for the recovery of their independence, headed, of course, by Cadwaladyr. Cenwalch, king of the West Saxons, brought against them a powerful army, and a battle was fought at Peonne in Somersetshire, whence the defeated[1] Britons were pursued with terrible slaughter as far as Pedrida, on the river Parret.

A.D. 664. Under this date the Saxon chronicle records that a fearful pestilence raged throughout the island, and of that pestilence died Cadwaladyr[2] king of the Britons. The inconsistent statements made by different chroniclers and historians concerning Cadwaladyr, his father Cadwallawn, and his son Idwal, may be almost reconciled by the supposition that Cadwaladyr's daughter was the wife of Cenbert, a scion of Cerdic's race, and that Cædwalla, otherwise called Idwal,[3] was the eldest son of this marriage and the heir of his maternal grandfather. Taking this view of the case, the martial strife in which the men of Gwent were driven back to the sea[4] by Centurin, king of Wessex, would form part of the well-contested struggle which finally secured to Cædwalla[5] the sovereignty of Wessex and Sussex with despotic power over Kent. He resigned the sceptre[6] of the West Saxons to Ina, his kinsman (A.D. 688), and died at Rome, in the following spring, at the age of thirty. The previous death of

[1] Saxon Chronicle.

[2] Nennius, § 64; Annales Cambriæ, A.D. 682.

[3] Historie of Cambria, by Lloyd and Powel, ed. 1584, p. 9; Turner, Hist. of the Anglo-Saxons, vol. i. book iii. c. ix.; Kemble's Names, Surnames, and Nicknames of the Anglo-Saxons, pp. 84, 85, and 102.

[4] Saxon Chronicle, A. 682; Florence of Worcester, A.D. 682, and Genealogy of the Kings of Wessex.

[5] Bede, book v. c. vii. xxiv.; Florence of Worcester, A.D. 685, 687, 688; Saxon Chronicle, A.D. 685; William of Malmesbury, book i. c. i. ii.

[6] Saxon Chronicle, A. 688.

Mol (? Molwnwg), Cædwalla's brother, was avenged by King Ina upon the men of Kent with inhuman severity. Palgrave considers Glastonbury[1] (the Isle of Avallon) to have been the only ecclesiastical foundation endowed by the ancient Britons which was preserved by the Saxons. It is remarkable that the reputed burial-place of King Arthur should be thus distinguished, and that Ina[2] king of Wessex, the Ifor of the Cymry, should build a minster there and endow it with large possessions.

§ 4. In the year 710, Ina, with Ceolred, king of Mercia, fought against Geraint, a Cymric king,[3] and was repulsed.

Welsh chronicles record that, in the year 720, the dioceses of Llandaff, Mynyw, and Llanbadarn were ravaged by the Saxons, and the notice is important in the church history of the country on account of its being the last date at which the bishopric of Llanbadarn[4] can be proved to have existed. Succession to the four other Welsh sees continued without interruption, though not without some ambitious and unbeseeming rivalry. From the days of Teilo, and of Oudoceus, his immediate successor, Caerleon[5] sunk into an integral part of the diocese of Llandaff; and the bishops, presuming upon the possession of that ancient fountain of authority, urged the ancient rights of their see to the primacy of the Welsh Church. This claim was steadily resisted by the prelates of Menevia (Ty

[1] Palgrave's Rise and Progress of the English Commonwealth, part i. c. v. pp. 152–154; William of Malmesbury, book i. c. ii.

[2] Palgrave's Rise and Progress, part i. c. xii. p. 408.

[3] Saxon Chronicle.

[4] Rees's Welsh Saints, p. 216, quoting Brut y Tywysogion, Myv. Arch. vol. ii. p. 472.

[5] Rees of Cascob's Preface to the Liber Llandavensis, pp. xl.–xlii. W. MSS. Society; Ancient Laws and Institutes of Wales ed. 1841, folio, p. 678.

CHAP. IX.

Ddewi), who, after the days of Ismael, asserted from age to age the superior dignity of the successors of St. David (Dewi), and were manifestly supported by the general feeling of the country.

§ 5. Bede, in his 'Ecclesiastical History,'[1] mentions (A.D. 684) that Egfrid, king of the Northumbrians, led his army to ravage Strath Clyde; that being drawn by a military stratagem into a mountain defile, he was slain there with nearly all his men; and that the Britons of Albany, Strath Clyde, and Cumbria, taking advantage of this victory, regained extensive territories, and restored liberty to the inhabitants. Forty-seven years after the defeat and death of Egfrid, Bede,[2] in closing his work, mentions that peace had been re-established between the Britons and the Northern Angles, the former continuing to occupy their rescued tract of country. From that period the Northern Angles sunk from a first to a secondary power among the Teutonic nations of Britain.

§ 6. Ina resigned the kingdom of the West Saxons to Ethelard,[3] his kinsman, in the year 728, and immediately went to Rome where he died. Rhodri Maelwynog,[4] the son of Idwal Iwrch (the Roe), began at the same time to reign over Gwynedd, holding also supreme sovereignty over Powys, Deheubarth, Devon, and Cornwall. The Brut y Tywysogion asserts that Ifor, son of Alan, king of Armorica, reigned over the Britons as a chief or prince, and not as a king, during the period occupied by the reign of Ina, and that Rhodri Maelwynog began to reign at Ifor's[5] death. It is remarkable that in the

[1] Book iv. c. xxvi. [2] Book v. c. xxiii.

[3] Saxon Chronicle; Ethelwerd's Chronicle.

[4] Brut y Tywysogion, 3rd entry; Williams's Enwogion Cymru, p. 438.

[5] Historie of Cambria, ed. 1584, p. 13; Brut y Tywysogion 3rd entry.

ancient Annales Cambriæ and in the various versions of the Brut y Tywysogion the Cymric chroniclers invariably persist in describing the paramount sovereign of Wales as King of the Britons (Brenhin y Britanyeit).

Ethelard, after ravaging Devon with his army, marched into Cornwall, where he was opposed by Rhodri, who gave him battle at Garth Heilyn, and forced him to retreat. In subsequent campaigns, Rhodri repelled an invasion of North Wales by a victory which he gained at a place called Garth Maelawg,[1] and also beat back the West Saxons from Morganwg by a victory which he gained at Pencoed. Ethelbald, king of the Mercians, coveting the fertile regions which lie between the rivers Severn and Wye, marched an army thither, destroying all before him, and penetrating even into Gwent, where his progress was checked at a mountain called Carno by the Cymric forces, which drove him back across the Wye with great slaughter. Cuthred[2] succeeded Ethelard his kinsman on the throne of the West Saxons, in the year 741. This king and Ethelbald, king of Mercia, united their warlike powers against the Cymry of Gwent and Morganwg, and after suffering and inflicting grievous loss of life, obtained at length a hard won conquest[3] at Ddefaudan, A. D. 743. They failed to maintain the ground which they had gained, but returned home laden with spoils. In the year 753, Cuthred, king of Wessex, again invaded Cymric territory, and was bravely encountered and beaten back from Hereford (Trefawydd).

§ 7. Rhodri Maelwynwg, the valiant defender of his

[1] Brut y Tywysogion, A.D. 721; Annales Cambriæ, A. 722.

[2] Saxon Chronicle.

[3] Ibid.; Florence of Worcester; Turner's History of the Anglo-Saxons, ed. 1836, vol. i. book iii. c. x. p. 403.

CHAP. IX.

country, left behind him at his death,[1] in the year 755, two sons, Cynan, surnamed Tindaethwy, his heir, and Howel.

The same year[2] is remarkable for the deaths of Ethelbald and of Benred, successive kings of Mercia, and for the accession of Offa, surnamed the Terrible, to the throne of that state. At the same period, also, Cynewulf obtained regal power over the West Saxons by a decision of their Witan (Parliament). The Saxon Chronicle records that this king of Wessex fought numerous battles against the Welsh, but it neither specifies time nor place. One of these battles, according to the Brut y Tywysogion, took place at Hereford.

§ 8. In the eventful year 755,[3] Elfod, bishop of Bangor, who is occasionally styled archbishop of Gwynedd, first introduced among the Cymry the Roman period of celebrating Easter. The Bishops of Ty Ddewi and Llandaff refused to adopt this innovation, probably regarding it as an act of submission to the Pope and to the See of Canterbury. To enforce their compliance an army of Saxons invaded South Wales, and being encountered by a native army, a sort of ordeal by battle was tried at Coed Marchan, where the recusants gained the victory. Two years afterwards, however, yielding, it may be inferred, to force of arms,[4] the bishops of South Wales altered their paschal usages, and in 768,[5] the new regulation was universally adopted, and Easter was never afterwards kept upon any other day than the Sabbath.

§ 9. The cities of Gloucester and Bristol gave

[1] Annales Cambriæ, A. 754; Brut y Tywysogion, A.D. 754.
[2] Saxon Chronicle.
[3] Bede, book iii. c. xxv.
[4] Annales Cambriæ, A.D. 760; Brut y Tywysogion, A.D. 760.
[5] Brut y Tywysogion.

Cynewulf ready access to Gwent and Morganwg, and also to Dyfnant and Cornwall, while Offa poured his Mercians at will, either through Gloucester or Worcester, or both, to ravage and occupy the pleasant lands which lie between the rivers Severn and Wye.

These two mortal foes of the Cymry contended with each other in 777, for the possession of Bensington-upon-Thames,[1] which Offa wrested from his rival Cynewulf; nevertheless, after the lapse of two years, the West Saxons repeated their ravaging inroads upon Welsh territories.

In the year 784, King Cynewulf was killed, and Beortric, his heir, married three years afterwards a daughter of King Offa, who thus secured a staunch ally and coadjutor in the prosecution of his ruthless designs against his western neighbours.

§ 10. The reign of Cynan was one of incessant warfare.[2] Availing themselves of every favourable occasion, the Cymry rushed back in martial strength upon the territories from which the Teutonic armies had been withdrawn, despoiling and slaying the intrusive occupants, and, whenever time and power allowed, reinstating the native proprietors. At one period, assembling in irresistible numbers, these valiant defenders of their soil drove all the Mercian troops and settlers beyond the Severn, and for a little while exulted in the complete recovery of their most fertile regions. With any other antagonist than Offa, Cynan might afterwards have held his dominions in peace; but that strenuous, sagacious, and all-subduing warrior, mustering, as in a common cause, the hosts of several Anglian and Saxon

[1] Saxon Chronicle, &c.

[2] Annales Cambriæ, A.D. 778, 784, 795, 796, 798; Brut y Tywysogion, A.D. 776, 784, 796, 798; Palgrave, Rise and Progress, part i. c. xiv.

CHAP. IX.

kingdoms, marched with overwhelming power into the disputed tract of country, which the Cymry quickly abandoned and fled to their strongholds among the mountains, there awaiting the leisurely and voluntary dispersion of their allied enemies. As soon as it occurred, the Cymry sallied forth with renewed vigour, to reoccupy the vales and plains. King Offa was not less persevering than his indomitable adversaries, and again assembling his allies, he drove out not only the warriors who contended for political dominion, but also every proprietor, labourer, and occupant of the soil, which he wholly re-peopled with colonies of Angles. In the course of his sanguinary and vindictive campaigns, King Offa defeated and slew Caradog ab Gwyn, a district king of Gwynedd, and Caradog's ally, Meredudd, king of Dyfed. The plaintive melody, called Morfa Rhuddlan, still commemorates this event and its scene of action. Powys, having been deprived of its fairest lands, and of Pengwern (Shrewsbury), the seat of government, was henceforth (A.D. 792) removed to Mathrafal near Trallwng.

For the effectual defence and security of these conquests, Offa, in emulation of Roman models, constructed a vast earthwork,[1] comprising a rampart and trenches, which, at an immense expense of human toil, was carried through, or over, all obstacles for a distance of about a hundred miles, extending from the estuary of the Dee to the mouth of the Wye, and forming a boundary line between enlarged Mercia and diminished Wales. Garrisons were set at intervals along this line, and the ousted and indignant owners were warned by procla-

[1] Brut y Tywysogion; M. H. B. p. 843, and separate ed. of Record Comm. p. 94.

mation of fearful[1] penalties to life and limb awaiting all Cymric trespassers.

§ 11. The formidable Offa died[2] in 794, his son survived him only for a few months, and delivered the sceptre of the Mercians to Cenwulf, the man most competent to wield it. Offa had brought into subjection the kingdoms of East Anglia, Essex, and Kent, besides the tract of country which he won from Wales; and, over all these acquisitions, and the numerous counties comprised in the Mercia of his predecessors, Cenwulf reigned with energetic tranquillity. In the year 800, upon the death of King Beortric, Egbert, a man of royal qualifications, commenced his memorable reign over Wessex, and the subjected kingdom of Sussex. Northumbria at this period maintained its independence, but all the other Teutonic states in Britain were virtually submerged in Mercia and Wessex, although still permitted, in some cases, to possess nominal kings. Gwynedd was exposed to injury from these three powers, but its dominions lay open most widely to Mercian inroads. At the death of Elfod, bishop of Bangor, in 809, the South Welsh bishops refused to acknowledge his successor, and fresh dissensions arose on the subject of Easter. In the year 813, King Egbert laid waste Devon and Cornwall, throughout the length and breadth of the district still ruled by native kings.

§ 12. While Wales suffered thus from external foes, intestine strife was wasting its energies. Throughout the long reign of Cynan, Howel,[3] his brother, insisted

[1] Turner's History of the Anglo-Saxons, ed. 1836, vol. i. book iii. c. x. p. 414.

[2] Saxon Chronicle.

[3] Annales Cambriæ, A.D. 813, 814, 816; Brut y Tywysogion, A.D. 812, 815, 817.

CHAP. IX.

that Mona should be included in the portion of his father's lands, to which by the law of gavelkind he was entitled, and Cynan stedfastly refused to gratify his brother's wishes. He had no son, and Howel probably believed that the possession of a place so renowned would insure his own succession to the sovereignty of Cymru; for when both had become aged men, Howel watched his opportunity, and seized upon Mona by force of arms. Twice, with a long interval between the periods, the royal brothers met in hostile array, and twice Howel worsted Cynan with much bloodshed. In a third battle, Cynan put forth his strength, drove Howel out of Mona, and forced him to seek refuge in the Isle of Man, whence he never returned. Within a year after this event King Cynan died, and in him the chief branch of the race of Cunedda became extinct in the male line,[1] A. D. 819.

[1] Annales Cambriæ, A.D. 816; Brut y Tywysogion, A.D. 817; M. H. B., Introductory Remarks on the Chronology of the Mediæval Historians, p. 109, A.D. 819.

CHAPTER X.

THE CYMRY, THE SAXONS, AND THE DANES.

FROM THE ACCESSION OF QUEEN ESSYLLT TO THE DEATH OF KING ANARAWD, A.D. 819–915.

My thoughts are with the dead, with them
I live in long past years,
Their virtues love, their faults condemn,
Partake their hopes and fears,
And from their lessons seek and find
Instruction with an humble mind.

SOUTHEY: *Occasional Pieces*, xviii.

§ 1. IN or about the year 819,[1] Essyllt, the daughter of Cynan Tindaethwy, inherited the throne of Gwynedd, and shared it with her husband Merfyn, a chieftain royally descended in the paternal line, and heir in right of his mother to the kingdom of Powys.

In 819,[2] Cenwulf, the potent king of Mercia, died, and left his sceptre to a child of seven years old, at whose untimely end soon afterwards it was seized upon by Ceolwulf, the brother of Cenwulf. In the second year of Ceolwulf's reign he was supplanted by Beornwulf, who, relying upon the predominance which Offa had acquired and Cenwulf had maintained, rashly provoked the enmity of King Egbert, brought the military strength of Mercia into the field of Ellendune against him, and, after a furious conflict, took to flight among

[1] M. H. B. p. 109; Skene's Four Ancient Books of Wales, c. vi. pp. 93–95.

[2] Saxon Chronicle.

CHAP. X.

his discomfited veterans, and left the ambitious King of Wessex to pursue his career of conquest, A. D. 823.

In the same year, Egbert subdued an insurrection of the men of Devon and Cornwall, by a battle gained at Camelford. In 827, having completed the subjugation of Mercia, and of all the Teutonic states southward of the Humber, he revived the long dormant title of Bretwalda,[1] and invaded Northumbria, which submitted without a blow, offering tribute and allegiance. In 828 he led his army into North Wales, where he enforced obedient subjection to his paramount sovereignty.

In order to secure, as far as possible, the subordination of the king of all Wales, Egbert seized upon Mona, which contained the capital of Gwynedd; and upon Chester, which formed the connecting link between the Cymry of Strath Clyde and Cumbria, and the Cymry of Gwynedd and the South. In the year 835,[2] the Danes, who had for some years been the scourge of the English coasts, landed in Devonshire (Dyfnaint), where they were welcomed as auxiliaries by the Britons of the Western peninsula, who marched with them in hostile array, intending to free the country from its Saxon occupants. King Egbert, however, was prepared for the emergency, and he defeated and put them to flight with great slaughter at Hengiston Hill.

In 836, King Egbert died, and his crown devolved upon Ethelwulf his son.

§ 2. Aberfraw, the chief fortress and capital of Gwynedd in Queen Essyllt's time, was situated in Mona, and an attempt made by the Cymry to regain possession of that favourite isle, appears to have provoked the resentment of Burhred, king of Mercia, who

[1] Saxon Chronicle; Florence of Worcester.

[2] Saxon Chronicle.

attacked the native forces, and after a severe contest defeated them, and slew[1] the king consort at a place called Cettyl, A.D. 844. The date of the queen's death is not recorded.

Rhodri Mawr, (Roderic the Great,) the son of Merfyn and Essyllt, became in right of his mother king of Gwynedd, in right of his father king of Powys, and in his wife's right king of Deheubarth, thus for the first time uniting the three provinces of Wales under a common government, A. D. 844. Among his many birthrights was a harassing war with Burhred, king of Mercia, from whose grasp he wrested Mona, and in defiance of whose attempts at territorial conquest he stoutly and steadfastly maintained his local and imperial authority as king of all Wales (Brenhin Cymru oll). In 846,[2] Ithel, king of Gwent, was slain fighting against the king of Brycheiniog, a melancholy instance of that puny rivalry and pugnacious folly which too often wasted Cymric strength in fratricidal strife. A bridge over the Ffynnant, called Pont Ithel, on the high road between Glasbury and Brynllys, still marks the disputed territory.

§ 3. So successful was Rhodri in the war which he waged against Burhred, that resistance took the form of aggression, and the[3] King of Mercia was constrained to apply for aid to the Bretwalda, being unable to extort even the usual tribute from an opponent whose powerful struggles threatened to break and burst through all trammels. Ethelwulf immediately marched at the head of his army across the Mercian states, and, in conjunction with the forces of Burhred, ravaged and

[1] Annales Cambriæ; Brut y Tywysogion; M. H. B. p. 109.
[2] Annales Cambriæ; Brut y Tywysogion.
[3] Saxon Chronicle, A.D. 853; Florence of Worcester.

CHAP. X.

devastated all Wales, until proving his inability to retain any part of the territories thus overrun, he accepted renewed offers of tributary allegiance and withdrew. He subsequently gave one of his daughters in marriage to King Burhred, as a bond of durable attachment, A. D. 854.

In the year of[1] Ethelbert's accession to the realm of United England (A. D. 860), the battle of[2] Gwaithen was fought between the Angles and the Welsh, and many men were killed on both sides. Monà, called Anglesey by the Mercians, seems to have been the cause of many conflicts during the reign of Rhodri; nevertheless, that resolute and princely man carefully marked out his three kingdoms by meers, according to their ascertained boundaries, and appointed within the chief fortress of each a suitable palace for a royal residence.

Powys[3] was divided from Gwynedd by a boundary line which nearly followed the course of the river Dyfi, the Berwyn range of mountains, and the course of the river Alun; the river Wye formed the general boundary line between Powys and Deheubarth.

§ 4. In the year 871,[4] upon the death of Ethelred, king of the West Saxons and of England, his brother Alfred was chosen by the Witan to be his successor in titles, toils, and troubles, the Danes having then overrun the whole country, and made many permanent settlements. The Teutonic tribes, when pagans, had

[1] Saxon Chronicle.

[2] Powel's Historie of Cambria, p. 32.

[3] Sir John Price's Description of Wales, prefixed to Powel's Hist. of Cambria, pp. 11, 211; and to Wynne's Hist. of Wales, ed. 1697, p. 11; Ancient Laws and Institutes of Wales, edited by Aneurin Owen, published by the Record Com. 1 vol. folio, 1841, p. 768; Yorke's Royal Tribes of Wales, p. 44, note.

[4] Saxon Chronicle; Ethelwerd's Chronicle; Asser's Life of Alfred Florence of Worcester.

taken savage pleasure in the massacre of British Christians and in the destruction of their sacred places, and, with unconscious retaliation, the pagan Danes inflicted every form of sacrilegious and outrageous cruelty upon the Christian Jutes, Angles, and Saxons, not sparing Britons or British edifices in their desolating fury.

In 872, the Danish host took up their winter quarters in London. In 873 they ravaged Northumbria and Strath Clyde, and destroyed the ancient Cymric city of Altclwyd. In 874,[1] traversing again the territories of the Mercians, and levying subsidies upon them, these stalwart marauders drove King Burhred from his throne and from his native shores, and set up a subservient Anglian thane as their agent, under the title of King of Mercia. About this time, Danish marauders penetrated into Gwynedd,[2] and crossed the Menai into Mona, where Rhodri twice gave them battle, first at Bangolau, and a second time at Menegyd; while other bands, landing in South Wales, carried fire and sword through its fertile districts.

In 875, the Danish chieftain Halfdene, with his battalion of the invading host, took up his winter quarters on the Tyne, brought all the neighbouring districts into subjection, and repeatedly made ravaging inroads upon Alban and Strath Clyde.

According to the Cymric records, an English army entered Mona in 876, and fought a grievous battle, with the Cymry; and, in the following year, the same invaders slew King Rhodri[3] in battle, together with his brother Gwyriad. These Angles, nevertheless, were

[1] Saxon Chronicle.
[2] Annales Cambriæ, A.D. 873; Brut y Tywysogion, A.D. 873.
[3] Annales Cambriæ; Brut y Tywysogion; M. H. B. p. 111.

CHAP. X.

repulsed from Mona, but succeeded in planting a colony between Chester and Conwy.

§ 5. Rhodri Mawr (Roderic the Great) and his wife, Queen Angharad, had many children,[1] and six of the eight sons are distinguished in Cymric records as dauntless and overbearing warriors. To Anarawd, who is generally reputed to have been the eldest,[2] Rhodri bequeathed the kingdom of Gwynedd, with Aberfraw in Mona for a capital; to Cadell, Deheubarth, with Dinefawr for a capital; to Merfyn, Powys, with Mathrafal for a capital. The provision made for the other sons is not recorded. Within each of the above mentioned kingdoms, many small realms retained their several dynasties, and over all Wales the King of Gwynedd exercised a supreme authority, although he himself and all his subordinate potentates paid tribute and acknowledged subjection to the King of Wessex. The tribute usually consisted of gold and silver, the fleetest of the Cymric hounds, and the keenest of their hawks; but whenever public danger lessened the military and political power of Wessex, or directed Mercian strength elsewhere, this tribute was invariably withheld.

§ 6. At the beginning of Anarawd's reign, a large colony[3] of the Strath Clyde Cymry, oppressed by the Danes, and preferring migration to the yoke of subjection offered to them on one side by the Britons of Alban, and on the other by the Northern Angles,

[1] Asser's Life of Alfred.

[2] M. H. B. p. 111; Ancient Laws and Institutes of Wales, edited by Aneurin Owen for the Record Com.; Palgrave, Rise and Progress, part i. c. xiv.; Heraldic Visitations of Wales, by Lewis Dunn, Welsh MSS. Society, vol. ii.

[3] Wynne's Hist. of Wales, ed. 1697, pp. 37–39; Gibson's Camden's Brit. ed. 1772, vol. ii. p. 57; Palgrave's Rise and Progress, part i. c. x.

arrived at Chester and craved the King of Gwynedd's hospitality. He replied by making over to Hobert, their chief, the tract of country in Flint and Denbigh, lying between Chester and Conwy, on condition that they would expel from it the Angles who had lately taken possession of it. Gladly accepting these terms, they speedily fulfilled them, and having cleared the lands of intruders, they took up their abode there. About three years afterwards (A.D. 880), the Mercians combined with the Danes in an attempt to regain that region, and the Cymric settlers prepared for the battle by sending their families with the cattle and goods to the other side of the river Conwy, and by giving King Anarawd timely notice of the impending peril. That valiant son of Rhodri encamped his forces at Cymryd, near Conwy, repelled with great success the efforts of his allied enemies, avenged in fearful slaughter the death of his father, chased the fugitives across the boundaries of his kingdom, carried fire and sword along the Mercian borders, and returned in triumphant impunity, laden with rich spoils. Anarawd, in token of thankfulness to Divine Providence for this victory, gave certain lands and other valuable property, to the cathedral church of Bangor, and to the collegiate church of Clynog in Arfon. Tudwal, one of the sons of Rhodri, distinguished himself so conspicuously in the conflict at Cymryd as to excite the admiration of his brethren, and having received there a hurt in the knee which rendered him lame for life, they testified their sympathy by jointly bestowing upon him a certain district called Uchelgoed Gwynedd.[1]

The northern emigrants re-possessed their new homes, and for a long time peaceably enjoyed them.

[1] Annales Cambriæ, A.D. 880; Brut y Tywysogion, A.D. 880; Wynne's History of Wales, pp. 38, 39.

CHAP. X.

§ 7. The Danes having planted themselves in the Northern and Eastern parts of England too firmly for uprooting, King Alfred[1] contented himself at length with enforcing their acknowledgment of his regal supremacy; and, by imparting to them Christian instruction and the arts of civilized life, he endeavoured to add the obligations of moral and religious influence, and to secure their conscientious observance of the faith of treaties. Meanwhile, against probable insurrections and ever imminent invasions, this wise and excellent sovereign took indefatigable precautions. On regaining possession of Mercia, he annexed that kingdom to Wessex, but appointed a military commander, named Ethelred, to govern it as his viceroy, and gave to that earl his young daughter Ethelfleda in marriage.

Soothing the apprehensions of the Welsh by the moderation of his demands, by abstaining from infringements upon Cymric soil, and by treating them with confidence as brave and friendly coadjutors, he won and retained their real affection. The experience of his justice, his faithfulness, and his martial prowess incited the district kings of the Cymry to appeal to him from the encroachments of his Mercian deputy, and from the despotism of their own sovereigns.

Even the redoubtable six sons of Rhodri sought his favour; and Anarawd, as the paramount sovereign of Wales, was accepted to be a direct tributary of the King of Wessex, without the intervention of Mercia, to which he had previously been subjected, and on the same terms of fealty and dependence as those by which Earl Ethelred held that realm—ever obnoxious to the Cymry because its wide western border had been torn away from them. The highest courtesy of England

[1] Asser's Life of Alfred.

was usually shown under the Teutonic kings in some religious ceremony, King Alfred therefore acted as King Anarawd's sponsor in the rite of confirmation, and made him magnificent presents upon that occasion.

§ 8. Among the favourite associates of the wise and good King Alfred were several Welshmen. Having heard that Asser, known to his own countrymen as Geraint Bardd Glâs, bore the highest reputation for intelligence, learning, and piety, he sent to St. David's, requesting the presence of that eminent ecclesiastic, who appears at that time to have presided over the celebrated college of Menevia. The Saxon king received the Cymric sage at a royal residence called Dene in Sussex, and eagerly urged him to become his friend, to leave all that he possessed on the western side of the Severn, and to rely upon his gratitude for more than an equivalent. Asser, hesitating to forsake the native haunts of his childhood, youth, and sacred ministry, and the King respecting his feelings, qualified the proposal, and begged that Asser would at least spend half of every year with him, returning home at every alternate period of six or of three months. To this the Cymric scholar ultimately agreed, chiefly influenced by a hope that his known connection with the great Bretwalda might put a stop to the violence of a local sovereign named Hyfeidd, who was in the habit of plundering the diocese of St. David's and of sometimes expelling the prelates and other ecclesiastics from their monastery. The six sons of Rhodri had compelled this unscrupulous Demetian to acknowledge King Alfred's authority, and his good behaviour was likely to continue under a sense of Asser's watchful supervision and powerful influence with King Alfred. That monarch, anxious for the welfare of all his subjects, and aware of the

CHAP. X.

importance of communicating religious instruction in the language of the hearth and of the heart, appointed Asser to the bishopric of Sherburn, which extended[1] over Wilts, Dorset, Somerset, and as far along the Western peninsula as the banks of the river Tamar, and included, besides the Saxon population, a compact and numerous Lloegrian community, called 'the Weal Cynne' (Welshkind). On the farther side of the Tamar, the Britons still preserved their native kings; and friendly intercourse with Bishop Asser could not do otherwise than soften the feelings both of British subjects and of British aliens towards good King Alfred.

It is remarkable that Asser terms Welsh territory Britannia and the rest of the island Saxonia.

§ 9. In or about the year 893,[2] some dissensions occurred between Anarawd and his royal brothers. The cause is not specified in the Chronicles, but as the troops of King Alfred accompanied those of Anarawd in an inroad upon Ceredigion and Ystrad Towy, it may safely be concluded that Cadell, king of South Wales (Deheubarth), was less exact than he ought to have been in the payment of tribute to his paramount sovereign and to the illustrious Bretwalda.

§ 10. A.D. 894. In the course of a concerted series of attacks made by Hastings[3] the Dane, with the intention of winning for himself the throne of England, that intrepid and audacious Viking marched his army through Mercia to the Severn. Earl Ethelred, with vigorous alacrity, assembled his forces and summoned his auxiliaries; and among the martial leaders who

[1] Palgrave, Rise and Progress, part i. c. xii. p. 410, part ii. p. cclxiv.

[2] Annales Cambriæ, A.D. 894; Brut y Tywysogion, A.D. 893; Palgrave, Rise and Progress, part ii. p. ccxlii.

[3] Saxon Chronicle; Ethelwerd's Chronicle; Asser's Life of Alfred.

hastened to the scene of action came the brave sons of Rhodri with their Cymry, anxious to save their own hearths from desecration.

The West Saxon host followed, and hung upon the rear of the invaders, who found the Angles and the Cymry awaiting them in front. Thus hardly beset, the Danes formed an intrenched camp beside the river, and shut themselves up in it for several weeks; then having eaten their horses, and striven against famine to the uttermost, the ferocious host rushed suddenly forth in desperation, and were received upon the weapons of merciless foes. Those Danes, who, led by Hastings in person, set their faces towards the east, cut their way through the Angles, and escaped with grievous loss to Essex and their ships; all the rest were either drowned or slaughtered.

In 895, Hastings the Dane, still intent upon his purpose, assembled another army, left women, children, and wealth in charge of the Danish inhabitants of the eastern counties, and having, by a rapid march night and day across the country at one stretch, surprised Chester, he fortified that city and the adjacent peninsula of Cilgwri, lying between the estuaries of the Mersey and the Dee, and being then an uncultured forest. King Alfred pursued them thither, and laid siege to their fortifications for two days, when, finding them impregnable, he contented himself with killing all stragglers, setting fire to the storehouses, laying waste the neighbouring country, and afterwards withdrawing his army into Mercia. This was no sooner done than Hastings and his hungry host rushed forth to plunder Gwynedd. Returning laden with booty to Chester, they passed thence into Northumbria and marched through East Anglia into Essex. There

CHAP. X.

Hastings had his ships towed up the river Lea, and quietly spent the winter within twenty miles of London. Being disturbed and disconcerted by the skilful manœuvres of King Alfred, which deprived them of their ships, the warrior Danes, leaving their treasures in charge of their East Anglian settlers, made a devastating march through Mercia to Bridgenorth on the Severn, and crossing that river ravaged[1] Brycheiniog and Buallt, Gwent, and the lordship of Gwenllwg, in which Caerleon is situated. They returned to the fortress which they had erected at Bridgenorth, and wintered there. In the following spring, 897, after having been three years on foot, the desolating host of the Viking Hastings finally dispersed itself, and the Saxon Chronicler records that fact with a hearty and devout ascription of thankfulness to God.

In 901, King Alfred[2] died, and the want of his benevolent and affectionate influence was speedily proved by the impetuous sons of Rhodri.

In 902, a horde of Danes, led by Igmond,[3] invaded Mona, and was encountered by the Cymry at Maes Rhos Melyn, where Merfyn, king of Powys, received a mortal wound, of which he died in 903. Cadell, king of Deheubarth, immediately seized upon Powys and reduced it under his sway, notwithstanding the opposition of Anarawd.

§ 11. In the year 907, Edward, King Alfred's eldest son and successor, sent emissaries to repair and to regarrison Chester, sounding thereby a war-note in the ears of the Cymry.

In 908, a powerful fleet, with a fresh army of Danes

[1] Annales Cambriæ, A.D. 895; Brut y Tywysogion, A.D. 894.
[2] Saxon Chronicle.
[3] Annales Cambriæ, A.D. 902; Brut y Tywysogion, A.D. 900.

on board led by Uther and Rahald, approached the Demetian coast. The troops landed, destroyed St. David's, fought the battle of Dinerth, in which Maylor, a brave Cymric chieftain, was slain, and pursued their hostile way throughout the whole breadth of South Wales into Herefordshire, where the Mercians vanquished them. In the course of the same year, the Demetians repelled another band of Danes, and drove them from their coasts to seek shelter in Ireland.

On the death of Cadell,[1] in 909, Anarawd seized upon Deheubarth and Powys by force of arms, and he appears to have joined those states to his own hereditary territories for the remainder of his life.

In the year 912, Earl Ethelred died, and the government of the Mercians, with the supervision of the Welsh, devolved upon the widowed Ethelfleda, sister of King Edward, and eldest daughter of the great King Alfred.

In 915[2] died Anarawd, king of Gwynedd by inheritance, and supreme sovereign of all Wales and of the Britons by national election.

[1] Annales Cambriæ, A.D. 909; Brut y Tywysogion, A.D. 907.
[2] Annales Cambriæ, A.D. 915; Brut y Tywysogion, A.D. 913.

CHAPTER XI.

THE CYMRY AND THE SAXONS.

FROM THE ACCESSION OF IDWAL FOEL TO THE DEATH OF HOWEL DDA, A.D. 915–948.

Hail usages of pristine mould,
And ye that guard them, mountains old!
WORDSWORTH: *Dedication to Sonnets on the river Duddon.*

CHAP. XI.

§ 1. IDWAL, surnamed Foel (the Bald), succeeded his father Anarawd as king of Gwynedd; and Howel ab Cadell obtained, as his birthright, the kingdoms of
A.D. 915. Deheubarth and Powys, and was also elected supreme sovereign of Wales—Brenhin Penraith [1]—in conformity with that triad of Dyfnal Moelmud, which describes the latter dignity as belonging to the ruler who has the oldest title of possession of the kings of a federate country. The character of Howel must have exercised an early and potent influence over the mind of his cousin Idwal, for no interruption of peace and friendship followed the severance of paramount authority from the sceptre of Gwynedd and the subjection of the elder to a younger branch of Rhodri's race.

Ethelfleda, in concert with her brother King Edward, employed the whole term of her [2] widowhood in carrying out the plan of their father King Alfred, for the defence of England against the Danes, by building for-

[1] Ancient Laws and Institutes of Wales, edited by Aneurin Owen, published by the Record Commission, 1 vol. folio, 1841, p. 644.

[2] Saxon Chronicle, A. 910-918, or 922.

tresses in advantageous positions, and supplying them with garrisons ever ready to protect each endangered locality. The royal friends had obviously a second object in view, and Wigmore, Bridgenorth, Cherbury, Edesbury, and other strongholds, were so placed as to repress the excursions of the Welsh, and to prevent all intercourse with their brethren of Cumbria and Strath Clyde.

King Howel, absorbed in projects for promoting the peace and happiness of his subjects, caused no trouble either to the Bretwalda, or to the Lady of the Mercians; and Idwal, king of Gwynedd, was passive under his kinsman's strong though gentle hand; but Owen,[1] district king of Brycheiniog, presuming upon Ethelfleda's incapacity for war, and King Edward's occupation elsewhere, made an audacious inroad upon lands which had once formed a part of the inheritance of his fathers, and returned home laden with rich spoils. The indignant Lady of the Mercians immediately marched her forces into Brycheiniog, and after a fierce battle (Gwaith y Dinas Newydd) took the fortress of Breconmere by storm. The local sovereign escaped her vengeance by flight, but her officers seized upon the queen and thirty-four of his men, and brought them as captives to her feet.

§ 2. In 918, a large fleet, bearing the Danish earls[2] Ohtor and Rhoald, with a numerous army, passed along the western coasts of Wales, plundering and spoiling at their will. Entering the estuary of the Severn, the troops made an expedition into Archenfield (Ergyng), where they captured a British bishop named

[1] Saxon Chronicle A. 916; Powel's Hist. of Cambria, pp. 47–48; Florence of Worcester, A.D. 917.

[2] Annales Cambriæ, A.D. 913; Brut y Tywysogion, A.D. 911; Saxon Chronicle.

CHAP. XI.

Camelauc, and led him off to their ships. He was afterwards ransomed by King Edward for 40*l*. Presuming upon the impunity which they had hitherto enjoyed, the whole army at last landed together, and marched forth towards Archenfield.

The men of Hereford, Gloucester, and other garrisoned towns in the vicinity, having now prepared themselves for such an emergency, marched forth in hostile array to stop the progress of the intruders. A battle took place, in which Earl Rhoald and multitudes of Danes were slain, while the remainder, driven into a narrow pass, and beset on all sides by their foes, were constrained to deliver hostages, and accept the conditions of the conquerors before they gained permission to return to their ships. King Edward and his army so effectually guarded the estuary, that although these enfeebled Danes attempted other expeditions, they were successfully repulsed, and finally constrained to seek refuge from famine and utter destitution upon the Irish shores.

§ 3. The most accomplished woman of her time, Ethelfleda, Queen or Lady of the Mercians, closed her earthly career at Tamworth, the chief city of her dominions. Her brother, King Edward, soon afterwards received, at the same place, the homage of the Mercian nobles, with whom came Howel, supreme king of Wales and provincial king of Deheubarth and Powys, King Clydawg his brother, whose local territory is not specified; Idwal, king of Gwynedd, and all the subordinate rulers of Cymric districts belonging to the three provinces, who with one accord brought offerings to the Bretwalda, and acknowledged him to be their lord and father. Soon after this humiliating ceremony, an event occurred which must have been a grievous

sorrow to good King Howel—the death of his brother Clydawg by the hands of his brother Meurig. The heinous fact, without further particulars, is recorded in the native chronicles. In 924, King Edward, being at Bakewell in Derbyshire,[1] the King of Scots and his subordinate rulers, and the King of the Strath Clyde Britons and his subordinates came, at the Bretwalda's summons, to pay their tribute and to acknowledge his supremacy.

§ 4. King Edward died in 925, and his son Athelstan succeeded him. Among the kings who acknowledged his supremacy in 926, the Saxon chronicle enumerates Howel, king of the West Welsh, and Owen (or Hugh), king of the Monmouth people. They attended at Hereford by special summons, and, among the subordinate kings of the Cymry, Owen appears to have been thus particularly and rudely mentioned, because, as king of Gwent, he laid claim to the districts of Ergyng with Ewias and Ystradwy, which had lately been appropriated by the Mercians. All the tributary kings were deemed members of the Witangemot, or Parliament, of King Athelstan; and, anxious[2] to avoid unavailing strife, King Howel consented that this territorial question should be decided by the assembled representatives of the inhabitants of Great Britain. The suggestion of the King of England was consequently adopted, and the river Wye was assigned for the future as the eastward boundary of South Wales.

About this time, King Athelstan forcibly broke up and drove forth the ancient British community which had hitherto continued to inhabit a part of the city of

[1] Saxon Chronicle.

[2] William of Malmesbury, book ii. c. vi.; Palgrave, Rise and Progress part i. c. xxi. p. 640.

CHAP. XI.

Exeter, obliging its members to retreat from conquered ground, and to take refuge with their brethren beyond the boundary line of the river Tamar. The spirit in which the history of the Welsh has been incidentally treated by the Benedictine monks may be estimated by referring to William[1] of Malmesbury's mention of this expulsion, which he deems to have cleansed the city by purging it of the 'contaminated race,'—a race from whose example his barbarous, heathen ancestors had derived the advantages of civilization and the blessings of Christianity.

§ 5. Meanwhile, [2]King Howel laboured diligently for the good of his people. He summoned the Archbishop of Mynyw, the Cymric bishops, and the principal ecclesiastics of the country, together with all the heads of tribes, and other rulers and nobles of Cymru; and, besides these personages, he caused six of the wisest and worthiest men from every cwmwd to meet him at his hunting-seat, called Ty Gwyn ar Daf, where he spent the forty days of Lent with them in prayer and fasting, in order to obtain the aid of God's Holy Spirit in reforming the laws and customs of the land, to the promotion of God's glory and the quiet government of the people.

At the close of Lent, he selected from the assembly twelve of the most learned and experienced men, adding to them Blegwyrd, chancellor of Llandaff, a person of singular erudition, wisdom, and piety; and committing to them the charge of examining the ancient laws and customs of the Cymry, and selecting such as they might deem most suitable for continued

[1] Book ii. c. vi.

[2] Ancient Laws and Institutes of Wales, edited and translated by Aneurin Owen; published by the Record Commission, 1 vol. folio, 1841, General Preface.

use. The thirteen commissioners executed their task with extreme care, abrogating obsolete, superfluous, and oppressive enactments, mitigating such as were too severe, imparting rigour to such as seemed too lenient, explaining doubtful phrases, and retaining everything that they judged to be most suitable and salutary for present circumstances.

Having been read, approved, and ratified by the great national council,[1] three complete transcripts were made of these laws in Cymraeg, so that the three provinces of Cymru—Gwynedd, Powys, and Deheubarth—might severally be enabled to refer at all times to their authority. To enforce the general and reverent observance of this code, King Howel directed the Archbishop of Mynyw to publish a sentence of excommunication against all such persons as refused to obey its laws, against such judges as should pervert them, and against every sovereign who should alter any of them without the consent of an assembly as numerous as that by which they had been enacted.

Anxious that nothing should be omitted which might add still greater weight and authority to this code, King Howel resolved to obtain for it the sanction of the Pope. Accordingly, about the year 926, he set forth upon a journey to Rome, bearing with him one of the transcripts, and accompanied by the Archbishop of St. David's (Mynyw), the Bishops of Bangor and St. Asaph, and thirteen other learned men. In the same year, a severe domestic bereavement saddened the heart of the good king, for, alike in the Annales Cambriæ and the Brut y Tywysogion, the brief, dry record of his journey is followed by the pathetic announcement of his wife Queen Elen's death.

[1] A. L. and I. of W. prefatory part of the Demetian Code, p. 164.

CHAP. XI.

The laws were recited in Latin before the Pope, and he gave them his solemn confirmation. The king and his attendants having thus attained the main object of their pilgrimage, returned at length in safety to their native land.

§ 6. In the preamble,[1] King Howel declares that after having studied the legal institutions of various nations, he had found the ancient British laws of Dyfnwal Moelmud more excellent than any others, and had therefore adopted them as the basis of his own. This modified code is composed of three parts; the first relating to the court, the second to the commonwealth, and the third directing the administration of both. To the supreme monarch is[2] reserved the exclusive right of coining money, of suggesting alterations in the laws, of maintaining 'the Croziers' of Cymru, of punishing persons who did any wrong on the highways, and of settling in his own court all questions of boundary between cwmwds, cantrefs, and countries, to whatever Cymric kings they might belong. With these restrictions,[3] every provincial and district ruler was as freely entitled as the king of Gwynedd himself to hold a royal court of privileged officers as numerous as he chose, and to reign over and judge his own people according to King Howel's code, of which copies were soon obtained by the subordinate kings. No king was legally permitted to lead an army out of the country more than once a year, nor to keep it away for a longer period than six weeks, but within his own territory he might raise military forces whenever he would.

In these laws the rights and duties of all classes of persons, from the supreme monarch to the bond slave, are accurately defined, while master and servant, hus-

[1] A. L. and I. of Wales. [2] P. 578. [3] Pp. 573, 659.

band and wife, parent and child have limits carefully set to domestic subjection and obedience. The distinction between legislative and executive power is well drawn; the adjustment of punishments to offences is equitable; and the favour with which the promotion of commerce is regarded, and especial privileges are assigned to the professors of learning and the arts, indicates the comprehensive sagacity of thoughtful and practical minds. CHAP. XI.

These laws required that no man should mortgage his land excepting to a kinsman. They charged every occupant of land with a tax for the defence of the kingdom. They declared every bequest of goods to be void, excepting such as was intended either for the payments of debts, or for the benefit of the church or king. They allowed persons to distrain for rent of land, or other debts, upon the creditor's goods, excepting books, harps, swords, and implements of livelihood; and upon his live-stock, excepting horses, which were deemed necessary to a man's defence, and not distrainable without a special licence from the sovereign.

They decreed that causes relating to the inheritance of land were not to be heard or determined at any other periods of the year but from November 9 to February 9, and from May 9 to August 9. The rest of the year was a time of legal vacation, allowed for sowing the fields in spring, and for gathering the harvest in autumn. All causes concerning the inheritance of land were to be heard by the king in person, or, in case of sickness or inability, by his special commissioner.

The king's revenue was derived from the proceeds of crown lands, from the levy of customary dues, from lapsed inheritances, among which those of all bishops

CHAP. XI.

were included; from waifs, and from the fines attached to crimes and legal offences. The kings of Mathrafal[1] and Dynefawr paid annually a specified tribute to the King of Aberfraw, consisting in the first case of four tons of flour, and in the second of four tons of honey.

Specific penalties were attached to crimes, but these might legally be commuted for the estimated fines.

Insolvent debtors, and persons incapable of paying fines for fraud and theft, were reduced to a state of slavery.

In the absence of a king, his domestic chaplain, the judge of the palace, and the steward of the household were empowered to exercise conjointly the powers of regency. Provincial judges held their several courts in North Wales, Powys, and South Wales, and every cantref and cwmwd had besides its local judge.

These laws set a price, according to the rank and occupation of individuals, upon human lives and upon the parts of the human frame; upon the lives of domestic quadrupeds and birds, and upon the parts of their frames, according to their respective species, age, and qualifications; upon bees; upon trees and their branches according to their uses; upon various sorts of food, and upon all the ordinary articles of manufactured property. Certain creatures and things derived an increase of value from the rank of their owners; for instance horses, dogs, hawks, and articles of personal use.

The prejudices of the people are indicated by the definition of a disreputable person as a foreigner (*alltud*): their peculiar faults appear in the enactments concerning the results of impetuous feelings: their virtues are indicated by the general tenor of the code,

[1] A. L. and I. of Wales, p. 687.

and in many particular passages, more especially, perhaps, in the injunction to use borrowed things as well as if they were their own; wittingly to redress every injury unwittingly committed; to impound calves, lambs, and kids, only between feeding times; by the care taken that the yokes and gears should not gall the oxen, and by the universal prevalence of unlimited hospitality.

These laws[1] acknowledge the bardic Gorsedd, held every third year at Aberfraw, as a privileged institution of the country; and they likewise uphold the Eisteddfodau, or occasional congresses held under the auspices of the different contemporary kings. Genius, instruction, and the sanction of the Gorsedd are held to be indispensable qualifications for the exercise of bardic functions. A Pen Cerdd (chief of song) was elected at every Gorsedd, and, in addition to his other accomplishments, it was necessary that he should know the prophetic song of Taliesin. He might be re-elected any number of times, provided he could maintain his superiority against all competitors as the best poet and the best musician in Cymru. His harp and its key were presented to him by the King of Aberfraw, and reckoned equal in value to those of his majesty. A lodging was appointed for him in the apartment of the heir apparent, with whom he was expected constantly to associate, and he took his seat in the royal hall next to the judge of the palace. He held no office at court, and his position there indicated the high respect entertained by the Cymry for the aristocracy of talents and acquirements.

The duties, privileges, and perquisites assigned by these laws to the great officers of the royal household

[1] A. L. and I. of Wales, pp. 640–649, 666.

CHAP. XI.

afford a curious insight into the manners of the early and mediæval Cymry. Whenever the king rode forth he was attended by thirty-six persons, of whom twenty-four were in constant attendance upon him in the palace.

The Penteulu was a dignified personage, and always of royal blood. His authority extended over every member of the king's establishment, and it was his especial business to act as a peacemaker, and to conciliate the sovereign towards anyone who might unhappily incur his majesty's displeasure. He was entitled to a share of military spoils whether present or not upon the field; and, at the three great festivals of every year, he was required to deliver the harp into the hands of the Bardd Teulu.

The Effeiryat Teulu was appointed to celebrate divine worship daily, to bless the meat and drink at meal times, to give religious advice, to act as private secretary to the king, and as secretary to the royal court of justice; and, in the execution of this latter function, to offer up a prayer, before the judges pronounce sentence, that God will show them what is right.

The Dystein, besides taking the oversight of the inferior domestics, paid the wages of the household, allotted the lodgings, and arranged the seats in the hall according to an order of precedency. He was the king's taster, and drank, but did not eat, at the royal table. The skins of all creatures, from an ox to an eel, killed for the royal kitchen were his property.

The Pen Hebogydd had his bed in the king's barn, where his birds were kept, because they disliked the smoke of the palace. His potations of ale and mead were restricted to certain measures, lest intoxication might lead him to neglect his charge. He was allowed

the skin of a hind every spring, and the skin of a stag every autumn, to provide him with gloves for the protection of his hands, and with thongs for the jesses of his hawks. Whenever he captured a curlew, a heron, or a bittern, the king, if present, held his horse during the act, and his stirrup at mounting and dismounting.

The Brawdwr Llys (Judge of the Palace) was prepared for the efficient and impartial execution of his important functions by a long course of preparatory initiation, and by the most solemn adjurations. He always lodged in the hall, and used the king's own cushion as his pillow. His ensigns of office were an ivory throw-board from the king, and a gold ring from the queen. When passing in and out of the palace, the great gate was always thrown open for him that his office might not suffer degradation from his passing through a wicket. Not only were household disputes and the civil and criminal causes of his sovereign's kingdom entrusted to his decision, but also the poetical and musical contests of the bards. It was his duty, at his own cost, to reward the successful competitor with a silver chair as Pen Cerdd (Chief of Song) and that principal bard of all Cymru presented him in return with a gold ring, a drinking-horn, and a cushion. Among his perquisites were reckoned the tongues of all animals slaughtered for the royal kitchen, the penalty of his unfaithfulness being the loss of his judicial office and of his own tongue.

The Pengwastrwd had the charge of the royal horses, horse-furniture, stables, and granary. It was his business to mount his majesty and all his great officers upon suitable steeds, and more especially to take care of the condition and equipment of the one appropriated to the use of the Brawdwr Llys. Among his perquisites were

CHAP. XI.

reckoned all colts under two years old found in the king's share of spoils taken in war; and also the riding-caps, bridles, golden, silver, and brass spurs which his majesty had used and done with.

The Gwastafel ate and slept in the king's private apartment, of which he had the charge, together with the furniture, the royal wardrobe, plate, and jewels. The bedclothes and wearing apparel were his perquisites.

The Bardd Teulu, at his appointment, received from his king a harp, and from his queen a gold ring. When the king led his army into a hostile country, the Bardd Teulu was always in attendance, and, while preparations for battle were making, he sang to the harp the inspiriting strains of 'Unbenniaeth Prydain' (the Monarchy of Britain), and repeated the same in the hour of triumph.

These services entitled him to the most valuable beast taken among the spoils. It was his duty to perform before the court at the three great festivals of the church after the Pen Cerdd had ceased; and also, at the queen's command, to sing and play three pieces for her whenever she pleased, but in so low a key that the king and his courtiers in the hall might not be disturbed by the music. In South Wales it was enjoined that the stanzas sung to the queen should be on the subject of Camlan.[1] When the Bardd Teulu went out with other bards to play for hire, he was entitled to receive the share of two. His worth was estimated at 126 kine, and liable to augmentation. Like every other member of the royal household, excepting the porter, he received new woollen clothes from the king, and new linen clothes from the queen

[1] A. L. and I. of Wales, Gwentian Code, p. 303.

thrice a year, at the three great festivals, had a horse, as all the others had, in constant readiness, and enjoyed free board and lodging, with many other privileges and perquisites.

The Gostegwr (crier of silence) performed this duty by word of mouth, and by afterwards striking his rod of office against a certain pillar in the hall. A fine was payable to him for every disturbance raised within the precincts of the palace.

The Pen Cynydd hunted hinds from the middle of February until Midsummer, and stags from Midsummer until the middle of October. On the first day of November he brought his hounds and all his hunting gear for the king's inspection, and then the skins of all the animals which he had taken in the preceding season were divided into three heaps, of which the king took the one containing the skins of the beaver, the martin, and the stoat; the Gostegwr took another heap; and the third was divided between his attendants. From November 9 until the end of that month, the Gostegwr chased the wild boar. He used in hunting the horn either of a buffalo or of a fine ox, and in time of war he accompanied the army to sound alarms and battle-signals. During the hunting seasons he was quartered, together with his servants and dogs, upon certain tenants of the king; but he always spent Christmas at court, and was lodged at that period in the kilnhouse, where the food of his dogs was prepared.

The Medydd (brewer of mead) retained, as a perquisite, a portion of the wax which he separated from the honey, and the remainder of the wax was made into candles for the use of the royal household.

The Meddyg was a general practitioner of medicine

CHAP. XI.

and surgery. It was his duty to watch the king at meals, and to instruct him what food he ought to eat, and to accompany the army whenever his majesty led it forth.

The Trulliad had charge of the cellars, and also of filling and presenting the drinking-horns.

The Drysawr lived in the gatehouse, and had a very onerous office, including not only the ordinary duties of a porter, but the custody of all state prisoners, and the duties of royal messenger within the precincts of the court. He also had the charge of providing straw and rushes for the beds of the household, and fuel for the palace fires. To reward his services he was entitled to many perquisites, among them being a handful out of every present passing through the gate, and a billet out of every load of fuel which, holding the gate with one hand, he could snatch with the other, without checking the horse. Out of every herd of swine taken as booty which passed through the gate, any sow which he could lift by the bristles breast high, and any animal without a tail, became his own.

The Coc (cook) and the Cannwyllyd (candle-bearer) completed the number of twenty-four great officers attendant upon the king. The queen had also a steward, chaplain, master of the horse, chamberlain, doorkeeper, cook, and candle-bearer, besides the Llaforfyn (handmaid) who was in close and constant attendance upon her. Like that of every other Cymraes the worth of the Llaforfyn was estimated to be, if a wife, one-third of her husband's; and if a maiden, one-half of her brother's. The candle-bearers of the king and queen were entitled to the tops which they could bite off the candles in their charge, to a handbreadth of every candle which each had to hold

in his hand, and to the pieces of candle left at night when the king and queen went to bed.

Other officers of less dignity belonged to the royal household; for instance the Troedyawg (foot-holder), who served as an ottoman to his majesty, and acted as his especial life-guardsman; the Gwastrawd (groom of the rein), who led the king's horse out and in, and held his majesty's stirrup when mounting and dismounting; and the Rhingylch (apparitor), who stood with a rod in his hand between two pillars of the hall, to watch against danger of every kind, and more especially against fire; and was also employed by the royal court of justice to deliver summonses and citations.

Only two women, besides the queen's handmaid, held high places in the royal establishment, one being the baker and the other the laundress, but a seamstress and a weaver were also employed.

The Gwyliedydd, in order to remind him of the ceaseless vigilance required by his office, received the eyes of all animals slaughtered for the royal kitchen. A horn, sounded at bedtime, called him to his post; throughout the night he watched over the sleeping king, and in the morning the same horn, announcing that the palace gate had been opened, gave the signal for his departure. The whole of the day was his own, either for sleep or occupation.

The palace smith enjoyed a monopoly of employment within the Cwmwd.

The usual style of building, indicated by the valuation, is a central hall having a roof supported by six columns, with penthouses attached to the gable-ends and sides, constituting chambers; and a barn containing a quern for grinding corn; another with a kiln for

CHAP. XI.

drying corn; a sheepcote, a stable, a pigstye, and other offices in close proximity.

The fields were cropped with wheat, barley, oats, rye, and flax. There were orchards of apples, pears, and cherries. Cabbages, leeks, and other culinary vegetables were cultivated in the gardens. An oak tree was worth 60*d.*, and so likewise was a mistletoe branch growing upon it.

A yew tree in the wood was estimated at 15*d.*, a 'holy yew tree' at a pound, a sweet apple tree at 60*d.*, a sour one at 30*d.*, other fruit trees at 24*d.* each, which was the worth of a whole grove of hazel. Every tree planted for shelter, either in a garden or near a house, was valued at 24*d.*; but ash, willow, alder, and other trees not bearing mast or fruit, were set at 4*d.* each. A spade cost 1*d.*, and so did a sickle; a salmon-net 16*d.*, a corawg (coracle) 8*d.* The skin of an ox cost 8*d.*, of a hart 8*d.*, of a cow 7*d.*, of a sheep 1*d.*, of a goat 1*d.*, of a roebuck 1*d.*, of a fox 8*d.*, of a wolf 8*d.*, of a martin 24*d.*, and of a beaver 120*d.*

The horns of buffaloes are often mentioned and were probably imported, but the native herds of cattle described are either wholly black, or white with red ears.

Buckhounds, greyhounds, and various other dogs are enumerated. The highest price set upon any dog was a pound; a cur, let it belong to whom it might, was only valued at 4*d.*; but a herdsman's or shepherd's dog going out before the flock or herd in the morning, following it home in the evening, and making three turns during the night around the fold or shed, had the same value as the best ox, which was 60*d.*

Chargers, palfreys, hunters, roadsters, sumpter-horses, packhorses, and working horses for drawing cars and harrows were in constant use. None were broken to

work until the third year, and no horse could be warranted free from restiveness until he had been safely ridden three times among a concourse of men and horses.

Oxen were exclusively used in ploughing, working usually in pairs, but sometimes three or four abreast, and sometimes in long teams. They also drew cars, but it does not appear that they were ever employed in harrowing. The use of cows, as well as of horses and mares, was strictly prohibited in ploughing; and it was required that every ploughman should know how to make his plough.

A battleaxe is valued at 2*d.*, a spear at 4*d.*, a bow with twelve arrows at 4*d.*, a rough-ground sword at 12*d.*, a round-hilted sword at 16*d.*, a white-hilted sword at 24*d.*, a shield at 8*d.*, a shield enamelled with blue or gold at 24*d.*, a saddle at 8*d.*, a gilded bridle at 8*d.*, a silvered one at 6*d.*, and other bridles stained or lackered at 4*d.* Spurs, stirrups, girths, horsecloths, and wadded pannels are mentioned, and also blinkers. Peculiar dignity is attached to a breccan (plaid); striped and chequered stuffs are alluded to; mantles trimmed with fur, robes, coats, trowsers, shirts, hose, buskins, shoes, gloves, caps, bonnets, girdles, buckles, bracelets, and rings were usual articles of attire. Laces for the hair and spurs belonged to the queen's outfit.

Mead was the most valuable liquor; bragawd was worth half, and ale one-fourth of it; so that for one measure of mead were given two of bragawd, and four of ale. Med, Cervisia aromatilis, and Cervisia are the titles used in the Welsh laws, and they aptly described the cwrw, metheglin, and mead of the country.

No distinct mention is made of bedsteads; the bed, even that of the king of Aberfraw, was of straw or

CHAP. XI.

rushes, but blankets, sheets, and costly coverlets, bolsters, and pillows are enumerated. Chairs and stools, cups, platters and dishes, mirrors, locks of iron and of wood, chests, crocks and pitchers, bottles and barrels, besides the ordinary vessels still used in kitchens and brewhouses, the tools of woodmen, carpenters, smiths, and other craftsmen, are also mentioned, as well as agricultural implements, spinning-wheels, and looms, with their reeds, beams, harness, warping troughs, rollers, wheels, and treadles.

When brothers divided among them the property of their father, the family homestead with the kettle, the coulter, the hatchet, the throw-board, and the harp belonged to the youngest, excepting in the case of kings. In the game played upon the throw-board, a black king with eight men and sixteen white men were used.

Ancient Triads[1] annexed to the legal code, recognize three domestic arts, husbandry, pasturage, and weaving; three arts of a court, judicature, legal practice, and diplomacy; three civic arts, medicine, commerce, and navigation; three noble arts, horsemanship, hunting, and the use of weapons; and three persons whom it is the duty of every landowner to maintain, a wife, an armed man if not himself a warrior, and a domestic teacher.

§ 7. In the year 939[2] occurred the deaths of two near kinsmen of King Howel Dda, Hennyrth ab Clydawg, his nephew, and Meurig ab Cadell, who had re-acted the crime of Cain.

In 940 King Athelstan[3] died, and was succeeded on the throne of England by his brother Edmund the Etheling, who regained by force of arms from the

[1] A. L. and I. of Wales, p. 651.

[2] Annales Cambriæ, A.D. 939; Brut y Tywysogion, 936.

[3] Saxon Chronicle.

naturalized Danes many of the Mercian cities, of which they had for some years retained possession.

In the year 943, upon some unrecorded provocation, the forces of King Edmund, with Danish auxiliaries, invaded Gwynedd; and, in the conflict which ensued, King [1]Idwal Foel and his brother Elised were slain. Idwal left behind him six sons, Meurig, Iefan, Iago, Cynan, Idwal Fychan, and Rhodri. Elised left a son named Cynan, and a daughter named Trawst, who married Seissyll, and was the mother of several princes, who in after years took conspicuous parts in Cymric history.

At the death of Idwal Foel, his sons found it necessary to suppress their murmurs, and quietly to allow King Howel Dda to assume the crown of Gwynedd. This excellent man seemed to desire regal power merely for the sake of making all his subjects happy; and his private conduct and public government were so uniformly discreet, equitable, and benevolent, that he secured universal reverence and good will.

In the year 945,[2] King Edmund marched with his army into the north, and having ravaged and conquered the regions hitherto governed by native Cymric kings, and known by the names of Cumbria and Strath Clyde, he granted the whole territory to Malcolm, king of the Scots, on condition that Malcolm should become upon all occasions his active auxiliary both by sea and land.[3] That long famous territory subsisted for many subsequent generations as a separate realm, held by successive heirs apparent, who severally resigned it on acceding to the Scottish throne.

[1] Annales Cambriæ, A.D. 943; Brut y Tywysogion, A.D. 941; Heraldic Visitations of Wales, by Lewis Dunn, Welsh MSS. Society, vol. ii.

[2] Saxon Chronicle; William of Malmesbury, book ii. c. vii.

[3] Palgrave, Rise and Progress, part i. c. xiii.

CHAP. XI.

In the year 946,[1] King Edmund was killed at Pucklechurch by Leofa the robber, and Edred his brother succeeded him upon the throne of England.

A.D. 948 is a memorable year in Cymric history, for in that year the long and peaceful, the prosperous and beneficent reign of Howel Dda was ended by his death.[2] Contemporary chroniclers style him 'the chief and glory of the Britons,' and time has failed to dim the calm halo which encircles his name.

[1] Saxon Chronicle.

[2] Annales Cambriæ, A.D. 950; Brut y Tywysogion, A.D. 948; Aneurin Owen's Preface to The Ancient Laws and Institutes of Wales.

CHAPTER XII.

THE CYMRY, THE SAXONS, AND THE DANES.

FROM THE DEATH OF HOWEL DDA TO THE DEATH OF IAGO AB IDWAL, A.D. 948–1039.

Dissension checking arms that would restrain
The incessant rovers of the northern main.
WORDSWORTH: *Ecclesiastical Sonnets*, part i. xii.

§ 1. A.D. 948. Howel Dda[1] left behind him four sons: Owen, Rhun, Rhodri, and Edwyn, whose several and collective claims to his dominions were instantly and furiously contested by the five younger sons of Idwal Foel. After several conflicts, it was agreed that the sons of Howel Dda should divide South Wales and Powys between them, and that Iefan and Iago, the second and third sons of Idwal Foel, should reign jointly over Gwynedd, Meurig, the eldest, being set aside as unworthy; but this arrangement formed merely a basis for contention, because the supreme sovereignty was assumed by Iefan and Iago, and their right to it was denied by the sons of Howel Dda.

The military strength of Gwynedd was summoned by Iago and Iefan to decide the question, and the combined forces of Powys and Deheubarth, led by Owen ab Howel and his brethren, quailed before it, and were vanquished with great slaughter upon the hills of Carno in Montgomeryshire. In the following year, the victors

[1] Annales Cambriæ, A.D. 950; Brut y Tywysogion, A.D. 948.

CHAP. XII.

twice ravaged Dyfed, and, in one of these expeditions, they slew its local king. About the same time died Rhodri, one of the turbulent sons of the peaceful Howel Dda.

About the year 954, the surviving sons of Howel Dda having resolved to assert their ascendancy, and to retaliate the ills which had been inflicted upon their provinces, collected the military strength of Deheubarth and Powys, and marching into Gwynedd, ravaged the country as far as the river Conwy. The sons of Idwal, recovering from the surprise, gathered their forces together, and encountered the invaders at Llanrwst, where, after an obstinate and deadly battle, in which royal blood flowed freely, Edwyn (otherwise called Gwyn), a son of Howel Dda, and Anarawd ab Gwriad ab Rhodri Mawr lost their lives, and the sons of Idwal gained the victory. They pursued the fugitives into Ceredigion, spoiling and devastating the whole region with fire and sword, showing not less ferocity and ruthless cruelty to their fellow countrymen and fellow Christians than the pagan pirates of the Baltic showed within the same year to the inhabitants of Mona.

In 955,[1] Edred, king of England, died at Frome, and was succeeded by Edwy, the eldest son of Edmund I.

In the local conflicts which now took place between the members of the royal families of Wales much blood was shed, and many princes perished. Owen ab Howel Dda, though unable to effect the higher purposes of his ambitious heart, gave vent to his ferocity by devastating the Gorwenydd (Utter Gwents) in defiance of the subordinate ruler of that territory, and apparently in assertion of a personal claim to it. About the same period (A.D. 958), the death of King Edwy gave the

[1] Saxon Chronicle.

whole realm of England to his brother Edgar, who commenced a vigorous reign under the auspices of Archbishop Dunstan and the Benedictine monks. The year 959 is noted in Cymric records for a heavy and deep fall of snow, and for a marauding visitation made by King Abloic, from Ireland to the Welsh coasts, in which, notwithstanding the fierce vigilance of Iefan and Iago, he pillaged Caer Gybi in Mona, and Lleyn in Arfon. About the year 961, Archbishop Dunstan consecrated[1] Gwgan to the bishopric of Llandaff, and this act of encroachment was countenanced by King Edgar, who presented the new prelate with the pastoral staff. Gwgan, in compliance with his patron's precepts, instructed the clergy that they were not to marry without obtaining the Pope's licence; but this ordinance, having excited great disturbances in the diocese of Llandaff, was soon withdrawn, and the clergy and monks were left free to marry as before, at their own discretion.

The joint sovereigns, Iefan and Iago, in the exercise of despotic power, seem to have forgotten the existence of neighbours stronger than themselves, until about the year 966, when Alfric, earl of Mercia, marched an army into North Wales, and ravaged the whole country to enforce the payment of tribute. The issue of this invasion appears to have been a commutation of future tribute for the annual delivery of the heads of 300[2] wolves. In the following year, Rhodri ab Idwal was slain by piratical bands from Ireland, who again ravaged Aberfraw.

Hitherto, the kings Iefan and Iago had continued staunch friends; but, about the year 969, they had a

[1] Liber Landavensis, c. viii. § 28, p. 502, § 32, p. 509, and Notes.
[2] William of Malmesbury, book ii. c. viii.

CHAP. XII.

violent quarrel, and, soon afterwards, Iago caused his fellow sovereign to be arrested and cast into prison. By way of rendering him incompetent to reign,[1] he had him blinded, and, after long detention as a captive, brought his wretched life to a close by hanging. Soon afterwards Einion, the son of King Owen ab Howel, made a devastating inroad upon Gwyr. It is probable that he acceded a few years before to the crown of South Wales, either by the abdication or death of his father.

While the Welsh princes were wasting their strength in faction, Machus the Viking, with a powerful host, landed in Mona; seized upon and plundered Penmon; and subsequently, by the crafty aid of his brother Godfrey, obtained the submission of the inhabitants of the whole island. The pirates did not long retain possession of the prize, but no particulars of its rescue are recorded.

About the year 972, Howel, one of the sons of the ill-used King Iefan, raised an army, and led it into the field against King Iago. A battle ensued, which resulted in the defeat and flight of the fratricide, who sought and found refuge at the English court. Howel ab Iefan immediately seized upon the kingdom of Gwynedd, and assumed the sovereignty of Wales. One of the earliest acts of his reign was to deprive his uncle, Meurig ab Idwal, of sight, and that inoffensive prince soon afterwards died in prison. A new competitor for the crown of Gwynedd then arose in Ionfal, one of the two sons of Meurig, and, in his right, the representative of the eldest branch of the race of Rhodri Mawr, and the true king of the Britons and monarch of all Cymru.

[1] Annales Cambriæ, p. 19; Brut y Tywysogion, A.D. 967.

§ 2. The confusion attendant upon these rivalries, and upon the atrocious deeds of the fugitive king Iago, and those of his triumphant nephew, Howel ab Iefan, offered a favourable opportunity for King Edgar, not merely to assert his superiority, but also to augment his influence in Wales, and to appropriate a fresh portion of Welsh territory. In the year 974, the Bretwalda, Basileus, and King of all Albion arrived at Bangor with a powerful fleet, summoned before him the regal competitors for the crown of Gwynedd, and compelled King Howel to admit King Iago to a share of the kingdom of Gwynedd, and to a joint exercise of the sovereignty of Wales. Gwynedd comprised[1] four regions: Môn, Arfon, Merionydd, and Y Berfeddwlad; and it may be clearly inferred, that a territorial division was then made or sanctioned by King Edgar, and that Arfon became the regal portion of King Iago. Out of it, King Edgar gave certain lands to the see of Bangor. He also confirmed the ancient privileges of the cathedral, and built a new church near it, which he dedicated to the Virgin Mary.

Passing round[2] to Chester with his fleet, the ostentatious Bretwalda received there the homage of eight tributary kings: Kenneth, king of the Scots, with his heir apparent, Malcolm, king of the Strath Clyde Cymry; Machus, the archpirate king of the Isles; and five kings of Wales, two for Deheubarth and three for Gwynedd, who all severally swore to be faithful to his interests, and to hold themselves ever ready to aid him both by sea and land. The humiliating ceremony

[1] Sir John Price's Description of Wales, prefixed to Powel's Hist. of Cambria, pp. 6–9.

[2] Annales Cambriæ, A.D. 973; Brut y Tywysogion, A.D. 971; Saxon Chronicle, A.D. 972; Florence of Worcester, A.D. 973; Henry of Huntingdon; William of Malmesbury, book ii. c. viii.

CHAP. XII.

being over, King Edgar led the way to the river, and took them on board his barge, then, seating himself at the rudder, and beckoning them to the oars, he steered his course up the Dee, while they rowed him from the palace to the monastery of St. John the Baptist, attended by other vessels bearing courtiers and attendants, and watched from the banks by crowds of amazed spectators. The crowned crew having landed, and offered up their prayers in the church, re-embarked, and the eight tributary kings rowed their despotic Bretwalda back again from the monastery to the palace.

The departure of King Edgar and his fleet served as a signal for the renewal of strife between the evil-minded kings Iago and Howel ab Iefan, who, reckless of their people's welfare, fought out, at all hazards, their personal quarrels, and, at the risk of national independence, fiercely struggled with each other for dominion and pre-eminence.

In 975 King Edgar died, and his son Edward inherited his throne, and being but a child, reigned under the guardianship of Archbishop Dunstan.

In 976 Einion, the son of King Owen ab Howel Dda, again ravaged Gwyr.

§ 3. Young Edward, the Bretwalda, was murdered in the year 978, and his brother Ethelred, a still younger boy, ascended the throne of England. About the same period, Howel ab Iefan repeated the devastation of Lleyn, and the desecration of the church of Celynog. In the following year, a decisive battle was fought between his forces and those of Iago, in which the elder king, being worsted and taken prisoner, his territories fell into the hands of Howel, whose next recorded deed is the murder of his uncle, Idwal ab

Idwal, an adherent of the adverse party. King Iago remaining in captivity, his son, Cystenin Ddu, became infuriated against the despot of his race, allied himself with Godfrey the Viking, who was employed in pillaging Chester (A.D. 980), and hired him and his pirates to ravage Mona and Lleyn. King Howel ab Iefan promptly raised an army and encountered them at Hîrbarth, where they sustained a complete overthrow, and Cystenin Ddu was slain. His surname usually denotes a person of dark complexion, but the Welsh chroniclers so frequently mention the Danes as the 'black Pagans,'[1] that his association with those pirates may probably be indicated by the epithet. In the following year, Godfrey and his amphibious troops reappeared on the Demetian coasts, ravaged Dyfed and Mynyw, and would have done still more extensive mischief if Einion, king of South Wales, had not stopped them at Llanwenog on the Teify, and given them an overthrow.

About the year 983, Alfric, duke of Mercia, and his army, sallying forth on a predatory expedition, had ravaged Brycheiniog and destroyed the chief town of that district, before the energetic Einion ab Owen could assemble an army to repel them. The contradictory statements of the 'Annales Cambriæ' and the 'Brut y Tywysogion' concerning this inroad may possibly have sprung from the two-sided fact, that King Howel ab Iefan and the men of Gwynedd, in the first instance, accompanied the Mercians, and then turned against them and assisted Einion in defeating, dispersing, and

[1] For instance (A.D. 987), 'Gothrit filius Haraldi cum nigris gentilibus vastavit Mon, captis duobus millibus hominum: reliquias vero Maredut secum asportavit ad Keredigean et ad Demetiam.'—Annales Cambriæ; and Brut y Tywysogion, A.D. 981. 'Kenedloed duon.'

CHAP. XII.

cutting them to pieces. Such conduct would accord with his character.

Not long after this victory, an insurrection took place among the Cymry of Gwent, and in attempting to quell it, King Einion ab Owen ab Howel Dda lost his life. He left behind him two sons, Edwyn and Tewdwr, but they were young, and Maredudd, his brother, took possession of the kingdoms of Deheubarth and Powys.

In 984, King Howel was slain while valiantly fighting against the Mercians. His countrymen, detesting his character, and contrasting it with that of the royal kinsman whose beloved name he bore, have distinguished him by the surname of Howel the Bad (Ddrwg).

§ 4. A.D. 984. The death of Howel Ddrwg[1] did not put an end to the internal commotions of the country. Cadwallawn, his brother, opposed the regal claim of Ionfal ab Meurig and slew him in battle, while Idwal ab Meurig narrowly escaped with his life. Cadwallawn having thus possessed himself of Gwyneddd, reigned over it for a year or more, but Maredudd ab Owen then marched against him with the united forces of Powys and Deheubarth. A battle was fought in which Cadwallawn and his brother Meurig were slain, and Maredudd consequently established himself as king of the three provinces, and monarch of all Wales. In 987, Godfrey and his [2]black host revisited Mona, defeated the forces of King Maredudd, and took 2000 prisoners, among them being the king's brother Llywarch, whose eyes they put out.

Struck with panic at these disasters, Maredudd retreated with the remainder of his army into Ceredigion and Dyfed, while the pirates burning and

[1] Annales Cambriæ, p. 20; Brut y Tywysogion, A.D. 984.

[2] Brut y Tywysogion, p. 29.

plundering as they went forth and returned towards the mouth of the Severn, vented their fury more especially upon the sacred structures of Llanbadarn, Llandydoc, Llanilltyd, Llangarfan, and Mynyw, until the harassed king at length consented to pay them a penny poll-tax as the price of their departure. Famine and great mortality occurred this year both in England and Wales, produced by the Danish inroads. In the midst of all this wretchedness, King Maredudd, with a hired band of Danes, employed himself in carrying fire and sword through those districts of South Wales which favoured the regal claim of his nephew, Edwyn ab Einion; who, with a hired band of Mercians, diligently retaliated, by carrying fire and sword through those districts which favoured the regal claim of Maredudd.

These atrocities were continued until rivalry subsided in utter exhaustion. Meanwhile, the Danes had again returned to pillage the fertile fields of Mona, and the men of Gwynedd, being left without a martial leader, gladly welcomed Idwal ab Meurig to the throne of his forefathers, A.D. 992.

This brave and worthy prince was diligently and strenuously applying his abilities to the defence and welfare of his people, when Maredudd raised an army in the south and marched against him. They met at Llangwm (in Denbighshire), and Tewdwr ab Einion, the nephew of King Maredudd, was slain in the battle which gave victory to King Idwal, and strengthened his grasp upon the sceptre of Gwynedd. Nevertheless, the warriors who fell in his cause were missed in 997, when Sweyn, king of Denmark, landed in Mona with a vast host of marauders, and the heroic Idwal ab Meurig died sword in hand in defence of his country.

The Danes passed southward to St. David's, destroying

CHAP. XII.

all before them, and not content with plundering and burning the monastery, they murdered also the monks and Morgan, bishop of that see. King Maredudd did not long survive these calamities. He left behind him only a daughter named Angharad. King Idwal left only a son named Iago, who was still a child. Cynan ab Howel Ddrwg sprang eagerly upon the throne of Gwynedd, while Llewelyn ab Seissyll, the son of Trawst and the husband of Angharad, seized with a tenacious grasp upon the sceptres of Powys and Deheubarth, A.D. 998.

In the year 1000,[1] Ethelred the Unready made a hostile visit to Cumberland, and appointed his ships to meet him at Chester. Wind and weather prevented them from doing this, and being driven back to Mona, the seamen landed there, and ravaged the coast. Among other aspirants to the throne of Gwynedd at this juncture, was Aeddan ab Blegwryd, a man of obscure lineage and not of Cunedda's race, but having brought an army into the field, and won a battle, in which[2] Cynan ab Howel Ddrwg was slain, he assumed the government of the kingdom in 1003.

The desolate condition to which the piratical Danes had reduced Menevia is indicated by the few and irregular entries to be found between the years 987 and 113 in the Annales Cambriæ, which were kept in that monastery.

§ 5. In 1013, Ethelred,[3] king of England, fled to Normandy and left his dominions at the mercy of Sweyn, king of Denmark. In the following year Sweyn died, Canute his son succeeded him, and, at the request of the Witangemot, King Ethelred returned to attempt

[1] Saxon Chronicle.

[2] Brut y Tywysogion, A.D. 1003; Annales Cambriæ, p. 22——.

[3] Saxon Chronicle.

the emancipation of his people. In the year 1016, the death of this feeble creature placed his vigorous son Edmund Ironside in the forefront of honour and of danger. After Canute had been convinced, by several defeats, of Edmund's superiority in military skill, the rivals were persuaded, by the intervention of Earl Edric, to hold a conference at Alney, an islet in the Severn, and there they agreed to divide England between them, Edmund retaining his conquests, which comprised Wessex with its dependencies, and Canute holding Mercia and Northumbria, which included the remainder of the country. The assassination of King Edmund soon afterwards enabled Canute to obtain possession of the whole realm.

In the same year, [1] Llewelyn ab Seissyll, king of Powys and Deheubarth, with a large army, invaded Gwynedd. Aeddan, who had reigned very peaceably until then, mustered his forces and encountered his adversary in a battle where he was slain together with his four sons. This victory gave Llewelyn ab Seissyll possession of Gwynedd, and henceforth he reigned over the three Welsh provinces, and became, in the language of the chroniclers, 'supreme king of Gwynedd, and the chief and most illustrious [2] king of all the Britons.' Under his good government, the recruited people employed themselves in agriculture and commerce, the earth produced abundantly, the cattle multiplied, beggary and poverty disappeared, the land was fully inhabited, and all the inhabitants were well provided for. In 1019, this tranquillity was disturbed

[1] Annales Cambriæ; Brut y Tywysogion; Powel's Hist. of Cambria, pp. 83-86.

[2] Llewelyn uab Seissyll goruchel vrenhin Goyned a phennaf achlo tuorussaf vrenhin or holl Vrytanyeit.—B. y T. A.D. 1020.

CHAP. XII.

by Meurig ab Arthfael, who having raised a faction against the king, was encountered in battle and slain by his majesty's own hands. A more formidable insurrection followed in South Wales, where an Irish adventurer, crafty, clever, and voluble, appeared at Dinefawr, calling himself by the name of Rhun, and pretending to be the son of the late king Maredudd. He was received by the subordinate kings of the province as their sovereign, and a large army was assembled at Abergwili to enforce his claim, A.D. 1020. On the approach of Llewelyn ab Seissyll with his forces, Rhun addressed his martial partisans with ostentatious bravery, confidently anticipating success, and arrogantly defying all opposition; but, ere the furious shock of conflict came, he hid himself, and the chieftains of the south, after fighting desperately against their enraged sovereign, were defeated and dispersed. Llewelyn lost many men in the battle, but he overtook and slew the vaunting pretender, ravaged the country, and returned laden with the spoils in melancholy triumph to his favourite residence, Rhuddlan Castle. The misery of Deheubarth was soon increased by the presence of Eilaf and his pirates, who ravaged Dyfed and demolished Mynyw.[1]

In 1023, King Llewelyn ab Seissyll died by assassination, at the instigation, it is said, of Howel and Maredudd, the sons of Edwyn ab Einion ab Owen ab Howel Dda, and by the treacherous aid of Madog Nun, bishop of Bangor. National reprobation prevented the authors of this heinous deed from profiting by it, and the throne of Gwynedd was immediately occupied by Iago ab Idwal, the lineal descendant of Rhodri Mawr. The throne of Deheubarth was seized upon

[1] Annales Cambriæ, A.D. 1123; Brut y Tywysogion, A.D. 1021.

with a strong hand by Rhydderch ab Iestin, district king of Morganwg and lord of Gwenllwg. The kingdom of Powys appears to have fallen into a distracted state, and to have afforded shelter to the turbulent sons of Edwyn.

§ 6. In this stormy, superstitious, and illiterate age Bledri[1] Ddoeth (the Wise), bishop of Llandaff, is described by his countrymen as the chief scholar of Cymru, who anxiously exhorted his clergy to instruct their people, so that every person might know his duty towards God and towards man. He died about the year 1023. His immediate predecessor was Gwgan; his successor was Joseph.

§ 7. The murder of [2]Cynan ab Seissyll, Llewelyn's brother, in 1026, was added to the crimes which ambition prompted the sons of Edwyn to commit. Unable, after ten years' machinations, to raise sufficient native forces to assert their hereditary claims to the throne of South Wales, Howel and Maredudd at length (A.D. 1031) contrived to hire a large army of Irish mercenaries, with which they invaded that province. Rhydderch appears to have been taken by surprise, for his army suffered a defeat, and he lost his life in the battle. The sons of Edwyn seized possession of Dinefawr, and shared its throne between them, but the sons of Rhydderch speedily raised a large army and marched against them. The opponents met at Hiraethwy, where a long and bloody conflict ended in the defeat of the sons of Rhydderch, and the people were compelled to submit to the authority of the victors. The sons of Cynan ab Seissyll soon afterwards raised a strong party

[1] Liber Landavensis, Appendix, pp. 627, 628; Williams, Enwogion Cymru.

[2] Annales Cambriæ; Brut y Tywysogion.

CHAP. XII.

in the province, deprived Maredudd of life, and constrained Howel ab Edwyn to seek for safety in exile.

In 1035 died Canute, king of England, Denmark, and Norway, and Harold his son succeeded to his English dominions.

§ 8. Although Iago ab Idwal, during a reign of sixteen years, did all that he was able to do for the welfare of his subjects, the memory of his brilliant predecessor continued to be fondly cherished among the martial veterans of Gwynedd; and when Gruffydd, Llewelyn's eldest son, having grown up to manhood, came before them full of energy and enterprise, they joyfully received him for Llewelyn's sake, while his own engaging and noble qualities secured the general favour of the people. He would gladly have induced King Iago to abdicate peaceably, but the son of Idwal could not tamely yield up to a rival the crown which he regarded as his own by old hereditary right. Iago's friends rallied around him, but Gruffydd brought a stronger army into the field; the lineal representative of Rhodri Mawr was defeated and slain, and Cynan his son fled for refuge to Ireland, A.D. 1039.

CHAPTER XIII.

THE CYMRY AND THE SAXONS.

FROM THE ACCESSION OF GRUFFYDD AB LLEWELYN TO HIS DEATH, A.D. 1039–1063.

'Tis liberty alone that gives the flower
Of fleeting life its lustre and perfume,
And we are weeds without it.

COWPER: *The Task*, book v.

§ 1. A.D. 1039. IN the first year of Gruffydd's reign over Gwynedd, his territories were invaded by the combined English and Danish forces of Mercia, acting in league with Howel ab Edwyn. Gruffydd, having encountered and defeated them at Croes yr Hafren, immediately led his triumphant army to Llanbadarn, where he destroyed the monastery, and drove away the monks because they had favoured his rival's cause. Passing from Powys into Deheubarth, he made a military progress through every district, receiving the submission of the subordinate rulers, while Howel ab Edwyn and his partisans fled for refuge to Earl Leofric's brother, Earl Edwin; and the fugitive prince prevailed on his ally to raise a powerful army for the purpose of replacing him upon the throne. When the Mercian force arrived at Pencadair, and was joined by Howel's old partisans, and the subjects of his district sovereignty, that prince believed his military strength to be invin-

[1] Annales Cambriæ, A.D. 1039——; Brut y Tywysogion, A.D. 1037——.

CHAP. XIII.

cible, and exulted in the sanguine anticipation of success; but Gruffydd ab Llewelyn, hearing of these proceedings, marched rapidly from Gwynedd at the head of his warriors, and came upon the allied host by surprise. In the battle which ensued, [1]Earl Edwin, Earl Thurkell, Earl Elfget, and many other English noblemen, were slain, Howel effected his escape, but the victory of Gruffydd was complete, and even the wife of Howel fell into his hands.

Gruffydd's detention of this princess, and his illegal marriage with her, form an ineffaceable blot upon his memory. His subsequent marriage with Algitha, daughter of the renowned Leofric, earl of Mercia, and his friendship with her brother Earl Algar, gave rise to many important events in the history of England and of Wales.

§ 2. A. D. 1040. Hardicanute succeeded his half brother Harold as king of England. The year afterwards, Howel returned secretly into South Wales, and endeavoured to incite the people to favour his cause; and just at that time it happened that a horde of Danish pirates landed upon the coast of Dyfed, and dispersed themselves about to plunder. Howel had not hitherto been possessed of his countrymen's good opinion, but the patriotism and valour with which he put himself at the head of the local warriors, won the battle of Pwll Dyfach, and drove the despoilers to their ships, gained for him many zealous friends.

Meanwhile, Cynan ab Iago had landed in Gwynedd at the head of a strong party of Irishmen, and being in communication with some political adherents there, was enabled to entrap and capture King Gruffydd. In the act of carrying him off to the ships, however, the

[1] Saxon Chronicle, A.D. 1039; Florence of Worcester.

alarmed people rushed to the rescue, delivered their hero, and slaughtered many of the invaders, while Cynan and the rest with difficulty re-embarked and set sail for Dublin.

§ 3. A. D. 1042. Howel ab Edwyn, taking into his pay a horde of Danes and their Irish fleet, was assisted by the native faction, which he had raised, in making yet another effort to regain his throne. Gruffydd marched immediately to meet his rival upon southern ground. The battle was long and fiercely contested, and when the forces of Howel retreated, those of Gruffydd followed them with unrelenting fury. A second stand being made at Aber Towy, the conflict was renewed, Howel ab Edwyn was slain and his army cut to pieces. In the same year, Hardicanute died, and Edward, his half brother, ascended the throne of England.

Gruffydd ab Rhydderch ab Iestin ab Owen ab Howel Dda and his brother Rhys were popular men in Gwent and Morganwg, and no sooner had Howel's death cleared the way, than they openly and boldly stood forward to assert their claim to the provincial sovereignty of Deheubarth. Silures formed the chief strength of their army, though some auxiliaries came from Mercia as a contingent ever ready to promote Cymric dissensions. King Gruffydd ab Llewelyn with his valiant brother Rhys and the men of Gwynedd were always ready for war, and so well matched proved the rival hosts of the north and south, that they fought with unremitting spirit and unflinching steadiness from morning until night. Darkness parted the diminished combatants, and the rival hosts, respecting and fearing each other, withdrew northward and southward to their respective provinces. It may be inferred that some

CHAP. XIII.

sort of compromise took place after this event, leaving to the sons of Rhydderch the provincial sovereignty of Deheubarth, and securing supreme dominion to King Gruffydd ab Llewelyn, whose provincial sway extended over Powys and Gwynedd.

No farther hostilities between the forces of Gwynedd and Deheubarth are recorded until 1046,[1] when the principal inhabitants of Dyfed and Ystrad Towy rose in arms against a body of Gruffydd ab Llewelyn's household troops, and killed 140 men. To avenge their death, the enraged king of Gwynedd laid waste those districts with fire and sword. In the same year he received a visit from Sweyn, the son of Earl Godwin, and accompanied him upon an expedition, of which the particulars are not recorded; but the result was certainly the delivery of hostages to Sweyn, and probably the subjugation of the sons of Rhydderch and the establishment of Gruffyd's provincial rule over Deheubarth.

The winter of 1046–47 was remarkable for its stormy and frightful severity. Snow set in upon January 1, and continued to fall, accompanied from February 1 by intense frost, until March 17. Violent tempests of every sort devastated the country, and checked vegetation; famine and pestilence followed, of which multitudes of human beings died, while murrain destroyed the cattle, and even the birds and fishes perished from want, so that the whole country lay desolate. Upon South Wales all these afflictions fell with aggravated force, from the devastations of previous warfare.

§ 4. Successive Bretwaldas and their deputies had, without scruple, violated the arrangement which recognized the Wye as a boundary line between England and

[1] Saxon Chronicle,——; Annales Cambriæ, A.D. 1047; Brut y Tywysogion, A.D. 1045.

Deheubarth, and they had gradually won possession of all those lands upon the western side of that river which form a part of the modern county of Hereford. This innovation, the kings of Cymru indignantly resented; while the Silurian peasants, remaining upon the conquered soil, favoured the predatory incursions of their countrymen, and gladly witnessed acts of spoliation and injury committed against their Teutonic oppressors.

Gruffydd ab Llewelyn, when other wars did not occupy his time, was in the habit of making such hostile visitations almost every year. To facilitate his operations, he built[1] a fortress in the very midst of a Saxon colony near Trefawydd (Hereford), and thus kept both the settlers and the neighbouring garrison of the city in a state of constant terror. The nearest way from Rhuddlan thither lay straight, from north to south, through western Shropshire and western Herefordshire; he therefore enjoyed the savage satisfaction of inflicting retribution at every step, while traversing and plundering alienated districts which he deemed to be, by right, his own inheritance.

Not long after the death of Llewelyn ab Seissyll, Queen Angharad, his widow, the daughter of King Maredudd ab Owen, married Cynfyn ab Gwerystan. Gruffydd and Rhys were the sons of the first marriage, Bleddyn and Rhiwallon of the second; and the sovereign elder brother treated all the rest with unsuspecting confidence and invariable affection.

In 1050, Cynan ab Iago made an attempt to invade Deheubarth with an Irish[2] army, but a violent storm wrecked many of his ships, scattered the rest, and

[1] Saxon Chronicle, A.D. 1048; William of Malmesbury, book ii. c. xiii.
[2] Annales Cambriæ, p. 25; Brut y Tywysogion, A.D. 1050.

CHAP. XIII.

constrained him to return to Dublin, where his marriage with the king's daughter had secured for him powerful friends.

In the same year[1] a host of Danish pirates from Ireland, with a fleet of thirty-six ships, entered the Severn sea, and passing up the estuary beyond the confluence of the rivers Severn and Wye, with the aid and guidance of Gruffydd, king of Wales, plundered the neighbouring country, burnt Dunedham, and slaughtered all the inhabitants whom they found there. Aldred, bishop of Worcester, collected a large body of forces to oppose the marauders; but Gruffydd, being aware of his enemies' movements, came suddenly and secretly towards the Saxon forces in the night with all his military strength, and at the dawn of day unexpectedly attacked them, slaughtering many men, and putting the bishop and the rest to flight.

§ 5. Earl Godwin and his sons, representing the Anglo-Saxon inhabitants of England, had become casually embroiled with the intrusive Norman faction headed by Earl Eustace, King Edward's brother-in-law. They consequently received notice to attend an approaching session of the Witangemot at Gloucester, where the Normanized king was then residing. Anxious to overawe the king for the sake of their own safety, they raised the militia of their earldoms, and marched to Beverston;[2] but, desiring rather to conciliate favour than to provoke civil war, they craftily attempted to account for their proceedings by asserting that the army was intended to withstand an impending Welsh invasion, by which the King of England with his council, and in them the whole nation, must be imminently endangered.

[1] Saxon Chronicle, A. 1050; Florence of Worcester, A.D. 1049.

[2] William of Malmesbury, book ii. c. xiii.

King Gruffydd and his subordinate rulers hearing of this accusation, took the most effectual means to repel it by speedily appearing at Gloucester as peaceful members of the Witangemot, where the eloquence of the Welsh sovereign completed his vindication and won the Bretwalda's favour, A. D. 1051. From these circumstances evidently arose the mortal enmity of Earl Harold to the sons of Llewelyn ab Seissyll.

In recording the appointment of Odda to the earldom of Devon, Somerset, and Dorset, 'and over the Welsh,' the Saxon Chronicle bears witness at this period to the continued existence of an ancient British community within the western peninsula.

In the year 1052–53,[1] the Godwin family re-established their power over England and over King Edward. Soon afterwards, Rhys, the brother of the king of Wales (South Wales according to[2] Florence of Worcester), having made a predatory expedition into Gloucestershire, was, by some unexplained exertion of Earl Harold's abilities, taken prisoner at Bullendun, and condemned to suffer death for the mischief he had done. His head was sent as an acceptable offering to King Edward at Gloucester; and, in accordance with the vindictive temper of the times, it is probable that Gruffydd ab Llewelyn, who held at that time the provincial sovereignty of Deheubarth as well as that of Gwynedd and of Powys, with supreme authority over all, soothed his grief for his brave brother's loss by making that speedy irruption into [3]Herefordshire, wherein he advanced nearly to Llanleini (Leominster), cut to pieces the opposing English and Norman forces,

[1] Saxon Chronicle.
[2] A.D. 1053; see also Warrington's History of Wales, pp. 216, 217.
[3] Saxon Chronicle.

CHAP. XIII.

and slew many persons of distinction. About this time, Fleance,[1] the fugitive son of Banquo, found a friendly welcome at King Gruffydd's court. Though cruel in his wrath, that king was gentle and kind to his associates, courteous and hospitable alike to his own people and to strangers, liberal to his dependents, and equitable in the administration of the laws. He is said to have been also costly in apparel and appendages, and royal in every word and deed. His love for his subjects, his adventurous daring, his resolute courage, his majestic bearing, and his extraordinary success in war, rendered him the idol of the Cymry, and the grisly terror of their foes.

§ 6. In the year 1055, the posterity of Rhydderch ab Iestin ab Owen ab Howel Dda made another attempt to wrest from the grasp of Gruffydd ab Llewelyn the sceptre of Deheubarth. The opposing parties tried their strength again upon a battlefield, where Gruffydd ab Rhydderch was slain by his rival, and his army suffered a complete overthrow.

Unless assailed with open violence, Gruffydd ab Llewellyn never injured or molested his regal competitors; and historic proof exists,[2] that he permitted the restless race of Rhydderch, after all their hostile actions, to enjoy successively the district sovereignty of Gwent, which was their paternal inheritance.

In the same year, Earl[3] Algar, having been outlawed by King Edward, went to Ireland, and procured there an army of Danes, which he embarked on board a fleet of eighteen ships; and, joining with these his own forces, he re-crossed the Channel, anchored on the

[1] Powel's Historie of Cambria, p. 103. [2] Liber Landavensis, p. 628.
[3] Brut y Tywysogion, A.D. 1054; Saxon Chronicle, A.D. 1055; Florence of Worcester; Henry of Huntingdon.

coast of Gwynedd, and besought the protection and aid of King Gruffydd. The request was readily granted, and the Welsh monarch raised a large army, with which he accompanied the march of Earl Algar and his troops into Herefordshire. Earl Ranulph, the nephew of King Edward, had early information of their approach; and with his Norman troops, and a host of English militia, he encountered the allies at two miles distance from the city. The hostile forces were arrayed for a pitched battle, but scarcely had a spear been thrown, when the cavalry of the defenders, falling into disorder, caused a panic to seize Earl Ranulph, who turned his back and led the flight of his discomfited followers, pursued by King Gruffydd and Earl Algar with their forces, who, slaughtering at their will, chased the fugitives to Hereford, where some of the assailants entered the fortress and slew the garrison. During the sack of the city, seven canons rashly stood forth to defend St. Ethelbert's church, Bishop Athelstan's new minster, and were in hot blood put to the sword. The minster was burnt with all its relics; and, after setting fire to the city, the allies departed laden with rich spoils, and dragging into captivity many of the inhabitants.

Aroused and alarmed by these outrageous proceedings, King Edward readily authorized Earl Harold to assemble at Gloucester the military forces of nearly all England, and to march at their head into Wales. The Saxon Chronicle emphatically mentions that they 'went out *not far* among the Welsh.' Encamping a part of his army in Wales, Harold returned with the rest to Hereford, and spent his time in fortifying that city, while negotiations for peace were carried on between him, as the representative of King Edward, and King Gruffydd

CHAP. XIII.

on behalf of Earl Algar. A meeting at last took place, the English army was withdrawn, and Earl Algar was restored to all his property and dignities.

Tremorin, bishop of St. David's, who had acted as coadjutor to Athelstan during his infirmities, appears to have guided his blind friend to a place of refuge, and then to have sunk and died from the fever of anxiety produced by these commotions; for, according to Simeon of Durham, Bishop Athelstan and his clerks, under the protection of the sheriff, withdrew from Hereford to Glasbrig, probably Glasbury,[1] situated upon the Wye, and within the diocese of St. David's.

On February 10, 1056, Bishop Athelstan expired at Bosbury, according to Florence of Worcester; and Leofgar, the mass-priest of Earl Harold, was consecrated in his stead. A fortnight before Midsummer saw King Gruffydd again at the head of an army, and again approaching the debatable ground on Wye side. Bishop Leofric, as soon as he heard the unwelcome tidings, cast aside his chrism and his rood, clothed himself in armour, took up the spear and sword, mounted a war-horse, and led forth his priests, together with the sheriff and the English militia of the neighbourhood, to encounter the invaders on their march, and probably met them at Glasbury. None of the leaders of the English forces escaped with their lives, and the triumphant advance of the Welsh king caused such consternation in the city of Hereford, and throughout the border lands, that Leofric, earl of Mercia, and Aldred, bishop of Worcester, came to Earl Harold and persuaded him to put an end to the havoc and distress, by making peace with King Gruffydd, and accepting his renewed oaths of aid and faithfulness to Edward the Bretwalda.

[1] Price's Historical Account of the City of Hereford, 1796, pp. 21, 22.

Within the same year, King Gruffydd sanctioned Meurig ab Howel, a district ruler, in appointing Nicolas ab Gwrgant to the vacant bishopric of Llandaff.

Two years afterwards,[1] Earl Algar was again unjustly outlawed (A.D. 1058), and returning to his old friend, the king of Gwynedd, found him hospitable and friendly as of yore. Gruffydd had a fleet as well as an army, and joining it with the fleet of Magnus, prince of Norway, he led the way in ravaging the English coasts, until Earl Harold was constrained once more, in King Edward's name, to restore Earl Algar to his wealth and privileges. No immediate act of hostility punished King Gruffydd for the effectual aid which he had rendered to Harold's political rival, and for the injuries done to his property in Wessex.

Though Florence of Worcester mentions continual ravages in the Marches, and many insults to King Edward, neither the Saxon Chronicle, the Annales Cambriæ, nor the best copies of the Brut y Tywysogion, allude to any subsequent inroad of King Gruffydd's forces upon English territory, nor farther provocation of any sort; but Earl Harold needed none to stimulate his long and careful preparation for vengeance. Having,[2] in King Edward's name, ordered a general muster of all the forces of England to take place at Gloucester, and having entered into secret communication with the half brothers of King Gruffydd, and with Caradog ab Gruffydd ab Rhydderch, and secured their aid by offering baits to their ambition, he made a sudden and rapid irruption into Gwynedd, at

[1] Saxon Chronicle, A. 1058; Florence of Worcester; Annales Cambriæ, p. 25; Brut y Tywysogion, A.D. 1056.

[2] Saxon Chronicle, A. 1063; Florence of Worcester; Roger of Wendover; Henry of Huntingdon; Turner, Hist. of the Anglo-Saxons, vol. ii. book vi. c. xiv. pp. 367, 368.

CHAP. XIII.

the head of a large body of cavalry, with the evident intention of surprising and capturing the king. Before Gruffydd became aware of his approach, the foe was at his castle gates, and he had scarcely time to rush with a few companions to the adjacent harbour, and to embark on board his own ship, when Earl Harold, enraged at the frustration of his enterprise, set fire to Rhuddlan Castle, to the royal storehouses, to the town, and to the fleet. While they flamed and smouldered into ruin, the fugitive king sailed away, and the earl returned with almost incredible speed to King Edward and the army at Gloucester.

Although his dashing excursion had failed, Earl Harold was determined to effect his object by perseverance. He altered the equipment of his militia, giving them leathern corselets and shields instead of metal ones, and light instead of heavy weapons; he also so ordered their diet as to conform their rations to the ordinary food of the Welsh peasantry. He promised the provincial sovereignty of Deheubarth to Caradog ab Gruffydd ab Rhydderch ab Iestyn ab Owen ab Howel Dda, at the price of political influence and military aid; and he promised the provincial sovereignties of Gwynedd and Powys to Bleddyn and Rhiwallon ab Cynfyn, at the price of similar assistance.

These preparations having been made, and a fleet especially fitted out for the occasion, Earl Harold and a part of his host embarked at Bristol, in the month of May: the remainder, commanded by his brother, Earl Tostig, marched along the Welsh coast, while Harold skirted it by sea. Passing from place to place in Deheubarth, the marine forces joined with those on shore, plundering the country and slaughtering the district kings and all who opposed the authority of the

Earl of Wessex. Caradog ab Gruffydd ab Rhydderch did his best; but the love of liberty and loyalty to the famous king of the Britons were strong in Cymric hearts, and several set battles were fought, and the soil was soaked with the blood of its bravest sons ere submission and tribute could be extorted. On every place of conflict, the kingly earl set up a memorial stone,[1] bearing the proud inscription, 'Here Harold conquered.' He was still fighting his way towards the north, when King Gruffydd, again commanding a fleet and army, hastened southward to oppose him. This foreseen danger was averted by traitors,[2] who killed their monarch by stealth, and sent his head, together with the prow and tackle of his ship, to Earl Harold. The object of the English expedition being thus fulfilled, and harvest time approaching, the victor returned to Gloucester, and presented to King Edward the savage tokens of King Gruffydd's death.

[1] Giraldus, Description of Wales, book ii. c. vii.; Cox's Monmouthshire, p. 234.

[2] Annales Cambriæ, A.D. 1063; Brut y Tywysogion, A.D. 1061.

CHAPTER XIV.

THE CYMRY, THE SAXONS, AND THE NORMANS.

FROM THE ACCESSION OF BLEDDYN AND RHIWALLAWN TO THE DEATH OF RHYS AB TEWDWR, A.D. 1063–1091.

I heard a voice which loudly to me called
That with the sudden shrill I was appalled;
Behold, said it, and by ensample see
That all is vanity and grief of mind;
Ne other comfort in this world can be
But hope of heaven and heart to God inclined,
For all the rest must needs be left behind.

SPENSER: *Ruines of Time.*

CHAP. XIV.

§ 1. A.D. 1063. If there had been a possibility at that conjuncture of subjecting Wales to the government of England, the powerful Harold would not have neglected it, but being a statesman as well as a general, and perceiving that the national feeling of the Welsh was then too strong for such a union, he obtained from the Bretwalda the appointment of Bleddyn[1] and Rhiwallawn ab Cynfyn as joint and tributary sovereigns of Gwynedd and Powys. At the same time, it is said[2] that he caused a law to be enacted, condemning every Welshman to lose his right hand who should be found

[1] Saxon Chronicle; Roger of Wendover; Florence of Worcester; Yorke's Royal Tribes of Wales, pp. 44, 45.

[2] By Turner, Hist. of the Anglo-Saxons, vol. ii. book vi. c. xiv. on the authority of Joan. Salisb. de Nugis. Cur. p. 185.

without licence carrying any missile weapon upon the eastern side of Offa's Dyke.

Harold coveted the lordship of Porthyscwyd, situated near the Aust passage, and forming a part of the district kingdom of Gwent which Caradog ab Gruffydd ab Rhydderch ab Iestyn ab Owen ab Howel Dda inherited from his forefathers. The prince refused to resign the favourite spot, and the earl revenged himself and secured the property by causing Caradog to be proclaimed an outlaw, and Maredudd ab Owen ab Edwyn ab Eineon ab Owen ab Howel Dda to be invested by King Edward with the provincial and tributary sovereignty of Deheubarth.

Earl Harold,[1] having taken possession of Porthyscwyd, caused a fortified residence to be erected there, and to be sumptuously adorned and furnished with the rich spoils which he had gathered in the Cymric war. He had invited King Edward to occupy it as a hunting seat, and preparations for the royal visitor were on the point of completion in the summer of 1065, when Caradog ab Gruffydd ab Rhydderch, with a large band of armed retainers, suddenly arrived, killed all the workmen and labourers, all Earl Harold's servants, and all the people who fell in his way, defaced the building, and carried off all the furniture, ornaments, and portable goods that he could find.

A body of Welsh forces joined with Morcar and Edwyn, the sons of the late Earl Algar, in the great Northumbrian rising against Earl Tostig; but Harold, yielding to the popular feeling against his brother, admitted the claim of Morcar, and prevented a bloody war.

[1] Saxon Chronicle, A. 1065; Florence of Worcester; Roger of Wendover.

CHAP. XIV.

The decease[1] of King Edward, January 5, 1066; the subsequent coronation, victory, defeat, and death of Harold; the conquest of England by William, duke of Normandy, and that duke's assumption of the English crown, were viewed almost with indifference by the dejected Cymry.

§ 2. In August 1067,[2] while King William was in Normandy, Bleddyn and Rhiwallawn joined with Child Edric, son of the late Alfric, earl of Mercia, in a predatory expedition in which they worsted the Norman garrison of Hereford Castle, laid waste the neighbouring country, and took great spoils.

The kings of Gwynedd had scarcely returned home, when Maredudd and Ithel, the [3]sons of King Gruffydd ab Llewelyn, appeared at the head of a formidable army to claim the kingdoms of their father. The rival forces met at Mechain in Powys, and, after an obstinate conflict, in which Rhiwallawn and Ithel were slain, the troops of Maredudd being beaten and dispersed, their youthful chief fled to a mountain recess, of which the pursuers watched the passes so closely that he miserably perished there of cold and hunger. Bleddyn ab Cynfyn, in consequence of these events, assumed the sole and undisputed sovereignty of Gwynedd and Powys. He was a man of peaceful inclinations and amiable manners, anxious for the good of his subjects, and entitled to the lasting gratitude of his country for certain beneficial[4] modifications which he effected in the laws of Howel Dda. He altered the quantities of land assigned to co-heirs in the division of a deceased kinsman's estate, remodelled the ordinances concerning theft, and made

[1] Saxon Chronicle. [2] Florence of Worcester.
[3] Annales Cambriæ; Brut y Tywysogion.
[4] Ancient Laws and Institutes of Wales, ed. 1841, folio, p. 489.

some new regulations with the object of securing adherence to the obvious spirit of such laws as experience had shown not to be defined with sufficient fulness and clearness by Howel Dda. No original MS. of either the original version, or of the revised versions of the eleventh century, remains extant in the nineteenth, and no copy of older date than 1241; but the Local Codes, collected by the Record Commission, and edited by Aneurin Owen, show with sufficient distinctness the original enactments, the provincial and district variations, and the gradual additions made from age to age to fit the changing circumstances of the times.

When the ruthless William of Normandy marched into the north of England in the year 1069,[1] Earl Edric the Mercian, with a body of Welsh allies and the men of Cheshire, were besieging the Norman castle at Shrewsbury assisted by the townsmen. William sent two earls to the rescue, but, before they could arrive, the assailants had burned the place and retired. The conquering king spent the whole winter of 1069–70, between the rivers Tyne and Wear, in perpetrating a series of massacres, which included more than 100,000 men, women, and children, of the Cymric, Llogrian, Saxon, and Danish population; and marching from York in the sleet and hail of early spring, he led his army towards yet unconquered Chester, intending to revenge himself upon Edric and his Welsh allies. He found them in arms; but his ferocious army soon subjugated the Mercian territory; the earl submitted himself to the Conqueror, and the Welsh withdrew to defend their homes. William consequently ordered the erection of a strong castle at Chester, and delivered the city

[1] Ordericus Vitalis, lib. iv. c. v.

CHAP. XIV.

and neighbourhood into the charge of Georbordus a Fleming.

Leaving there a strong garrison and abundant provisions, he proceeded to Shrewsbury, and took similar precautions for its future security.

Norman adventurers soon afterwards forced their way into Gwynedd and Powys, and raised almost simultaneously the castles of Montgomery and Rhuddlan.

A.D. 1070. Meanwhile,[1] Caradog ab Gruffydd ab Rhydderch had called out his Gwentian warriors, hired a large body of Norman mercenaries, and attacked Maredudd, king of Deheubarth. A battle took place between them on the banks of the Rymny; Caradog slew his adversary and seized upon the throne, but dying soon afterwards left it to Rhydderch his son. Whenever the sovereigns of Dinefawr were not at open war with those of Aberfraw, it is to be inferred, from the tenor of all the legal codes, and from occasional events, that they acknowledged and respected the supremacy of the 'Brenhin Cymru oll.'

About the year 1071,[2] Sulien, surnamed Ddoeth, was consecrated by his suffragans bishop of Mynyw, an upright and pious man, who is described by contemporary writers as a wise and pious counsellor capable of guiding and instructing others, and always taking the part of peace and righteousness.

§ 3. Many Saxon nobles and Church dignitaries, oppressed by the fierce and rapacious despotism of the Conqueror, readily joined in a conspiracy which was formed against him in the year 1075, by[3] Ralph, earl

[1] Annales Cambriæ; Brut y Tywysogion.

[2] Annales Cambriæ, 1071; Brut y Tywysogion, 1071; Williams, Enwogion Cymru, 1070; Giraldus, Itin. book ii. c. i.

[3] Saxon Chronicle, 1075; Florence of Worcester, 1074; Roger of Wendover, 1074; William of Malmesbury, book iii. A.D. 1074.

of Norfolk, who, being maternally descended from the Cymry, invited many of his mother's kinsmen to meet the discontented Englishmen at his bridal feast at Norwich, in the hope of obtaining, through their intervention, the military aid of the Welsh kings. This conspiracy having been discovered, was quenched by King William in the blood of its abettors. The presence of Welsh noblemen at Norwich was deemed by that ruthless monarch a sufficient proof of their participation in the guilt of Earl Ralph; and, after having been tried at Westminster, some of them were hanged, others blinded, and the rest banished from Great Britain, while their countrymen at a distance, looking on with indignation, cherished silently the dark and evil hope of future vengeance.

About the year 1076 the pious Sulien resigned his bishopric to Abraham, a wise and devout man, who consented to accept the charge with an anxious desire to emulate the diligence of his predecessor in the fulfilment of its onerous and difficult duties.

§ 4. About the year 1073,[1] an insurrection had taken place in Ystrad Towy, and, in attempting to quell it, King Bleddyn was treacherously slain by Rhys, the son of Owen ab Edwyn. He left behind him six sons Cadwgan, Maredudd, Llywarch, Madog, Rhiryd, and Iorwerth; nevertheless his cousin, Trahaern ab Caradog, took quiet possession of the thrones of Gwynedd and Powys. Rhys ab Owen and Rhydderch ab Caradog reigned jointly at that period in Deheubarth. Cynfyn ab Gwerystan, father of the late King Bleddyn, had been lord of Cibwr in Gwent; Gronwy and Llewelyn, the sons of Cadwgan ab Bleddyn, found therefore, in that district, many zealous abettors in their attempt to

[1] Annales Cambriæ, 1073; Brut y Tywysogion, 1073.

CHAP. XIV.

dethrone Rhydderch and his royal associate Rhys, who had slain their grandfather. By the aid of another Caradwg, who was probably a brother of Rhydderch's, they won the battle of Camddwr, but it did not afford them any durable advantages. Rhydderch was soon afterwards killed by his cousin Meirchion, and Rhys remained sole occupant of the throne of Dinefawr, notwithstanding a second victory gained over his forces by the three confederate princes at Gwaunuttyd. While these events were passing in the south, Gruffydd[1] ab Cynan arriving in Mona with an Irish army, and gaining the support of several native chiefs, was enabled to seize and to hold possession of that island, making meantime occasional efforts to obtain a recognition of his authority from the three other constituent parts of the kingdom of Gwynedd. Having crossed the Menai, however, and encamped in Arfon, he was routed at Bron yr Erw by King Trahaern, and compelled to withdraw from the mainland. Trahaern, elated by this success, resolved to take advantage of the troubled state of Deheubarth, and to attempt the conquest of that kingdom. King Rhys, with a valiant army, encountered him at Pwll Gwittic, and experienced a disastrous defeat. Fearing to be taken by Trahaern, Rhys and his brother Howel fled from the field, and after having wandered about for some time, fell at length into the hands of Caradog, who caused them to be put to death in order to avenge the blood of King Bleddyn, A.D. 1077. In the same year, Rhys[2] ab Tewdwr ab Einion ab Howel Dda claimed the throne of his ancestors, and was elected king of Deheubarth. Rhys entered into

[1] Williams, Enwogion Cymru; Yorke's Royal Tribes of Wales, pp. 1-4.

[2] Yorke's Royal Tribes of Wales, pp. 30-32; Annales Cambriæ; Brut y Tywysogion.

CHAP. XIV.

an alliance with Gruffydd ab Cynan, and these descendants of Rhodri Mawr and lineal representatives of the houses of Meurig ab Anarawd and of Howel Dda united their forces against Trahaern, who reigned at that time over Powys, Arfon, and Y Berfeddwlad. The rival hosts met upon Mynydd Carno in Powys, and fought with desperate obstinacy, until King Trahaern and the principal district sovereigns upon his side were slain, and his troops entirely discomfited. Gruffydd ab Cynan then carried fire and sword through Powys to punish the people who had favoured his opponent, and immediately afterwards assumed the crown of that kingdom, and the crown of re-established Gwynedd. Aberfraw had not long regained its provincial and paramount dignity when King Gruffydd ab Cynan fell into a treacherous snare, and, under the pretext of a conference, was betrayed into the hands of Hugh[1] d'Abrincis (otherwise called d'Avranches), earl of Chester, who loaded him with chains, carried him away and imprisoned him in Chester Castle, A. D. 1080. This earl, surnamed Lupus for his savage and ravenous disposition, was sister's son to the Conqueror of England, who had consigned unconquered Gwynedd to the ferocious 'farming' of the Earl's vassal, Robert d'Avranches, at an annual rental of 40*l.* While the energetic king of the country chafed in fetters, like a curbed warhorse, Earl Hugh assembled together the Norman nobles of the Mercian border, and made a series of predatory inroads upon the devoted territories. In process of time he strengthened his hold by erecting fortresses upon advantageous sites; and the castles of Bangor, Caernarfon, Aberlleinawg (in Mona), and Meiri-

[1] Enwogion Cymru, p. 184, where the Life of this prince, preserved in the Hengwrt Library, is quoted from the Myv. Arch. vol. ii.

CHAP. XIV.

onydd, furnished with strong garrisons, and communicating with each other, threatened utter and speedy subjection to the aggrieved and disheartened men of Gwynedd and Powys.

Rhys ab Tewdwr, king of Deheubarth, before he settled himself at Dinefawr to enjoy the peaceful fruits of his share in the victory of Carno, invaded the territories of Iestyn ab Gwrgant, in order to punish that district-sovereign for having rendered assistance to his adversaries. Iestyn, however, was too strong and too fierce to take such chastisement without requital; Rhys had destroyed his castles of Dinas Powys, Llanilltyd, and Dindryfan in Morganwg, and he rested not until he had retaliated by devastating and spoiling the regions of Ystrad Towy and Brycheiniog.

§ 5. A.D. 1081. Such was the state of affairs in northern and southern Cymru when King William[1] in person led a powerful army into Deheubarth, obtained the liberation of many hundreds of Norman and Saxon prisoners, received the unhesitating homage of King Rhys ab Tewdwr and of the subordinate sovereigns, and proceeded in military pomp to Mynyw, where he offered gifts, and performed acts of worship at the tomb of Ddewi, to which foreign celebrity had already given the title of St. David's shrine.

Abraham, bishop of Mynyw, who died in the same year, was murdered by a marauding band of seafaring Danes, and Sulien was persuaded by his friends, upon this occasion, to resume the exercise of his episcopal functions, because it was generally admitted that no other ecclesiastic of his age and nation knew so well as

[1] Saxon Chronicle, 1081; Henry of Huntingdon; Ordericus Vitalis; Annales Cambriæ, 1079; Brut y Tywysogion, 1079; Roger of Wendover, 1079.

he did how to advise and influence turbulent rulers and a troubled people.

§ 6. A.D. 1083. At this period Peter the Hermit led forth from Europe more than 100,000 fanatics, forming the first Crusade for the rescue of the Holy Land from the dominion of infidels. William[1] of Malmesbury, relating the general fervour which animated the continental and other nations on this occasion, and their ready relinquishment of habitual pursuits, says—'the Welshman left his hunting:' there is not, however, any other historic proof that even one distinguished Cymro left his country for this enterprize.

§ 7. In the year 1087, the sons of[2] Bleddyn ab Cynfyn brought all their forces together, with the intention of seizing upon the provincial throne of Dinefawr. Rhys ab Tewdwr, being unprepared, yielded for the moment to overwhelming power, and withdrew to Ireland. Soon returning thence with a body of auxiliary troops, and mustering his numerous friends, he was suddenly attacked by his adversaries at Llechryd on the Teifi, where, after an obstinate and bloody conflict, he gained a complete victory; Madog and Rhiryd ab Bleddyn being slain, and their brothers Llywarch, Iorwerth, Cadwgan, and Maredudd saving themselves by flight.

On September 9 in the same year, William the Conqueror died, and in extolling his greatness, the Saxon Chronicler states, that 'the land of the Britons (Wales) was under his sway, and he built castles therein; moreover, he had full dominion over the Isle of Man (Môn).' How highly the military power of the Cymry was estimated by their antagonists may be judged from

[1] Book iv. c. ii.

[2] Annales Cambriæ; Brut y Tywysogion.

CHAP. XIV.

this proud vaunt founded on an incomplete and transient ascendancy; and from the fact that the king, when recapitulating upon his deathbed the most remarkable exploits of his life, named the Welsh as a people with whom he had held[1] perilous conflicts.

§ 8. Concerted and stimulated by Odo, bishop of Bayeux, simultaneous insurrections burst out all over England in the year 1088, with the object of placing the crown of William Rufus upon the brows of his brother Robert.

The Norman earls of the [2]Cymric border, with the Norman nobles who had gained possession of Cymric soil, being active conspirators, found many willing co-adjutors among the troubled chieftains of Wales, who joined them in making a devastating irruption into Worcestershire, and were only prevented from despoiling the cathedral city and seizing the royal castle by the extraordinary valour of the garrison and citizens, and the martial spirit of Bishop Wulfstan.

In the year 1089 died the aged Bishop[3] Sulien, who had a few years before resigned the see of St. David to Bishop Wilfrid, and, nevertheless, was missed and mourned as the most learned clerk, the wisest counsellor, and the most godly teacher in all Cymru. About the same period sea-rovers landed in Mynyw, robbed the cathedral, and set fire to the town.

The death of Cadifor, district sovereign of Dyfed, now enabled his turbulent sons, Llewelyn and Eineon, to incite Gruffydd ab Maredudd to join with them in rebellion against King Rhys ab Tewdwr. He gave

[1] Ordericus Vitalis, book vii. c. xv.

[2] Saxon Chronicle; Florence of Worcester; William of Malmesbury, book iv. c. i.

[3] Annales Cambriæ; Brut y Tywysogion; Powel's Historie of Cambria.

them battle at Llandudoc, put them to flight, and in the pursuit took Gruffydd prisoner, and afterwards had him put to death as a traitor. Eineon, in an evil hour for his country, escaped from the sword of King Rhys ab Tewdwr, and fled for refuge to Iestyn[1] ab Gwrgant, the discontented ruler of Morganwg. Eineon had previously served in military expeditions with the Normans, and he now undertook to induce them to bring a powerful force to aid Iestyn as mercenary soldiers in his ambitious projects, on condition that he should receive the daughter of Iestyn in marriage with certain attendant advantages. In accordance with this arrangement, Eineon went to England and engaged the services of Robert Fitzhamon, a Norman baron, who, accompanied by twelve knights and their retainers, soon afterwards landed in Morganwg, where Iestyn received them with hospitable honours, and joining his forces with theirs commenced a series of devastations upon the neighbouring territories. Sorely grieved and troubled by these proceedings, King[2] Rhys in Easter week suddenly called out his military forces, at the age of ninety, put himself at their head, and, after a fierce and long sustained conflict, fell and died at Caerbannau, near Aberhonddu, bearing with him to the grave the independent glory of his dynasty and of the throne of Dinefawr.

[1] Gibson's Camden's Brit. ed. 1772, vol. ii. p. 18; Williams, Enwogion Cymru; Yorke's Royal Tribes of Wales, pp. 130.

[2] Florence of Worcester, A.D. 1093; Annales Cambriæ; Brut y Tywysogion.

CHAPTER XV.

THE CYMRY AND THE NORMANS.

FROM FITZHAMON'S CONQUEST OF MORGANWG TO THE DEATH OF CADWGAN AB BLEDDYN, A.D. 1091–1112.

The strongest still the weakest overran,
In every country mighty robbers swayed,
And guile and ruffian force were all their trade;
Life was a scene of rapine, want, and woe.
THOMSON: *Castle of Indolence,* canto ii. stanza xv.

CHAP. XV. A.D. 1091.

§ 1. RHYS AB TEWDWR being dead,[1] Iestyn ab Gwrgant paid the Norman mercenaries their stipulated hire, made them liberal presents, and courteously dismissed them to their ships; but when Eineon immediately afterwards claimed the promised reward of his services, that haughty ruler repulsed him with scorn, and avowed that he destined his daughter for another man's bride. The mercenary troops had embarked, but had not set sail, when a signal recalled them to the shore; and Eineon, reckless of national duty, avenged himself upon Iestyn by entering into a compact with them, and demonstrating to Fitzhamon the ease with which he and his knights might possess themselves of the fair

[1] Annales Cambriæ; Brut y Tywysogion; Powel's Historie of Cambria, ed. 1584, pp. 119–128; Wynne's History of Wales, pp. 111–115; Williams, Enwogion Cymru, derived from Myv. Arch. vol. ii. p. 526; Yorke's Royal Tribes of Wales, pp. 30–32, and notes to p. 31, the 1st being from the Panton Papers; Gibson's Camden's Britannia, ed. 1772, vol. ii. p. 18.

and fertile region of the deceiver, while the other district sovereigns of Deheubarth stood aloof regarding with horror and aversion the destroyer of the venerated King Rhys. Won by his words, the rapacious Normans bent their whole power against the astonished Iestyn, seized upon his richest territories, and left him to dispute with Eineon the possession of the rest.

Then, for the first time in the history of Cymru, the hereditary succession of the native landowners was wrenched away and broken up. A people, who had retained their tribal honours throughout four centuries of Roman domination, and preserved their sacred territory from the encroaching Teutons, while defending it also from invading sea-rovers for nearly seven centuries more, saw and felt in the conquest of Morganwg the worst evils of subjugation; while fellow-warriors of the foes who triumphed there exultingly threatened to reduce the other districts of Cymru to a state of equal degradation.

Under the contemptible pretext that the native sovereigns, in breaking the oath of allegiance extorted from them by Harold, had forfeited all Wales to the English crown, William Rufus gave permission to many of his restless nobles, on condition of homage and fealty to himself and his regal successors, severally to appropriate such districts as they might be able to subjugate. Among the military adventurers thus authorized,[1] Bernard Newmarch was conspicuous. Availing himself of the disorganized state of South Wales, he wrested Brycheiniog from Bleddyn ab Maenerch by force of arms, and then attempted to mitigate the hatred of the native inhabitants by a marriage with

[1] Hoare's Giraldus, Itin. vol. i. p. 32.

CHAP. XV.

Nest, grand-daughter of the 'Rex Britonem' Gruffydd ab Llewelyn.

Arnulph de Montgomery[1] soon afterwards effected the conquest of Dyfed; Roger de Montgomery, earl of Shrewsbury, subdued Ceredigion, and seized upon several districts of the kingdom of Powys; and Hugh d'Abrincis, earl of Chester, with his confederates, knights, and retainers, rode rough-shod at his will over the whole kingdom of Gwynedd. Nowhere, however, did the Normans possess themselves of a single acre of Cymric soil without being constrained to defend it by a strong neighbouring castle and a watchful garrison.

§ 2. Gruffydd ab Cynan, king of Gwynedd and 'Brenhin Cymru oll,' had lain for twelve years a prisoner in Chester Castle, when Cynwric Hîr (the Tall), a native of Edeirnion in the kingdom of Powys, taking advantage of a night when wassail had relaxed the vigilance of the garrison, obtained access to him, and carried the fettered monarch on his back beyond the precincts of the fortress. Returning into Gwynedd, and lurking for a time in woods and mountain solitudes, Gruffydd gradually aroused the hopes and the national spirit of his people, until, at the head of the men of Gwynedd, he drove the Normans out of his provincial kingdom, and took possession of the castles which they had built there.

Cadwgan[2] ab Bleddyn ab Cynfyn, a man of vast energy and of great ability, was then at the head of the men of Powys, attempting to retrieve their national independence. Gruffydd ab Cynan joined with him in

[1] Powel's Historie of Cambria, pp. 151, 152.

[2] Annales Cambriæ; Brut y Tywysogion; Saxon Chronicle, A. 1094, 1095, 1097; Florence of Worcester; Roger of Wendover; William of Malmesbury, book iv. c. i.; Powel's Historie of Cambria, pp. 152–155; Henry of Huntingdon.

making an inroad upon Ceredigion, where they slew great numbers of the Normans and of their English retainers who had lately settled there. The Normans of Ceredigion, being reinforced from England, resolved to revenge themselves by an attack upon their despoilers' homes; but Cadwgan, discovering their intention, laid wait for their forces in the forest of Yspys, and after an obstinate conflict forced them to retire with great loss.

Following their flight, he devastated Ceredigion and Dyfed, destroying every fortress in his way, excepting only the castle of Pembroke, which, being strongly built, was ably defended for Arnulph de Montgomery by [1]Gerald de Windsor. Invited by patriotic sympathy, the Cymry arose against their Norman oppressors in several of the conquered districts of South Wales, and aided by Cadwgan, his brethren and his sons, drove them headlong out of Gwyr, Brycheiniog, Gwent, and Gwent-Iwg, slaying Roger, earl of Shrewsbury, William Fitz Eustace, Arnold de Harcourt, Neal le Viscount, and many other men of note. All the fighting men of the three provinces arose in arms for freedom, and a numerous host assembled around the two kings who had nobly re-awakened the spirit of their race.

Gruffydd ab Cynan and Cadwgan ab Bleddyn marshalled this host in several divisions; one of these was encountered and defeated by Hugh, earl of Shrewsbury; the others drove back the returning Normans and their reinforcements from the north, from the east, and from the south; then crossing the boundary lines of Harold and of Offa, carried fire and sword throughout the country once possessed by the Silures and Ordovices their forefathers, and brought home with them many

A.D. 1194.

[1] Hoare's Annotations on Giraldus, Itin. book i. c. xii.

CHAP. XV.

prisoners, together with the spoils of devastated Gloucestershire, Herefordshire, Worcestershire, Shropshire, and Cheshire.

Within the kingdom of Powys, the castle of Rhyd y Gors in Maesyfed, which had been built by William Fitz Baldwin, was valiantly defended by him, and it resisted, like that of Pembroke, the vigorous assault of Cadwgan; but, with these exceptions, the southern campaign of that hero was a career of conquest, and he returned into Merionydd to rejoice with his neighbour King Gruffydd, and to concert new schemes of national defence and aggrandizement.

A.D. 1095. In the full current of success, Cadwgan rushed to attack the strongest Norman fortress in Wales, Montgomery Castle, which the followers of the Earl of Shrewsbury still possessed. He took it by storm, slew the garrison, and razed the walls to the ground.

William Rufus, hearing of this event, and aware of its importance, ordered an army to be immediately levied for the invasion of Wales. Michaelmas had passed when he put himself at the head of that army, and marched at once to Montgomery. There he employed his men in rebuilding the castle, while the Cymric kings and their forces disappeared and entrenched themselves among the fastnesses of their mountains and forests, guarding the passes with sedulous care, taking every advantageous opportunity of falling upon detached parties, and appropriating the sumpter horses and baggage of the king. Rufus at length divided his forces, and ordered them to traverse different parts of the country. Having done this, they met on All Saints' Day at the foot of Snowdon, communicated the common information that active foes lay in ambush all around them, that hardship, want, and

hostile hands were thinning their numbers, and that winter had set in and threatened their utter destruction. Under these circumstances, the savage king led his army back to England, and for the time left Cymru to the Cymry. CHAP. XV.

During the absence of Rufus in Normandy, several expeditions were sent from England with the intention of re-instating the Norman settlers in Gwent, Morganwg, Brycheiniog, Dyfed, Powys, and Gwynedd. The vigorous opposition of Cadwgan and Gruffydd and of the district kings effectually frustrated their purpose, and the Norman armies were, each in turn, vanquished and repulsed, having caused much trouble to the people, and wasted their own blood and money. The death of William Fitz Baldwin at this conjuncture enabled the Cymry to obtain possession of Rhydygors, and left only Pembroke and Montgomery in foreign hands. A.D. 1096.

§ 3. The efforts of the Normans were incessant to retrieve their position in Wales, and while the vigilance of the Cymric leaders was exercised without remission in counteracting the force and fraud brought to bear against them by local adventurers, the whole country re-echoed the rumour that the King of England had raised an irresistible force with the intention of subjecting the three provinces, and avenging sevenfold his former discomfiture. To soothe the distress thus excited among the people, days of public prayer, humiliation, and fasting were appointed, and looking beyond the talents, perseverance, and valour of their leaders, the hearts of the Cymry sought effectual help from the Lord of Hosts.

In the year 1097, William Rufus, at the head of a powerful army, marched a second time into Wales,

CHAP. XV.

choosing the summer season for his enterprise, and providing himself with Welsh guides. He was thus enabled to penetrate farther into the country than before, and to remain there for a longer period; but harassed and worn down by the strategy of Cadwgan and his confederates, the disappointed despot at last withdrew, suffering a great loss of men, horses, and treasure, and having scarcely slain a single man of the nation which he had come on purpose to exterminate. Unable to cope with the Cymry upon their own ground, he took effectual measures, in the course of his retreat, to restrain their predatory excursions by building new castles and repairing old ones along that border land, then and long afterwards known as the Welsh Marches, so as to complete the chain of fortresses extending from Chester to Gloucester and Bristol.

§ 4. The Cymry had shown themselves to be invincible while, relying upon the justice of their national cause, they looked to Almighty God for help, and maintained unbroken unity; but selfish rivalry and perverse ambition had in former ages been their bane, and those evil passions were ready again to tarnish their fame and destroy their prosperity.

Two signal victories gained over the military forces of England, directed and led by a warrior king and his proud Norman chivalry, tended evidently to produce a feeling of false security in the Cymric kings, and a contempt for the armaments of local adventurers. These adventurers, however, having found mere warfare unavailing, entered into communication with some envious and ill-conditioned princes, promising to respect their national laws and customs; and offering, as the price of assistance, greater aggrandizement and distinction than they could rationally hope to attain

from adherence to their country's cause. Thus was a way prepared for an influx of new settlers, and for the ultimate return of the former ones.

A.D. 1098. Several district rulers of Gwynedd, jealous of the favour shown by Gruffydd ab Cynan to his Irish confederates, conspired with the Normans against him, and aided the secret and sudden advance of a large hostile force led by the Earls of Chester and of Shrewsbury. The King of Gwynedd's staunch ally and son-in-law, King Cadwgan, was with him in friendly companionship when the alarum sounded, and both retreated hastily to the mountains, while the invaders marched through the land from Chester to Arfon. Rendered desperate by the imminent danger of Aberfraw his capital, and fearing no treachery, King Gruffydd resolved to defend Mona; and crossed the Menai accompanied by King Cadwgan, their guards, and such of the men of Gwynedd as had been rapidly assembled. They were speedily followed by the Earl of Shrewsbury and his troops, and at this critical moment Owen ab Edwyn, the father of King Gruffydd's wife and the most trusted of his councillors, deserted to the enemy at the head of King Gruffydd's army. The two heroes, so lately the deliverers of their country, were scarcely able to save their lives by embarking at once for Ireland, and Cymru became again a prey to the despoilers.

Hugh,[1] the inhuman Earl of Shrewsbury, not content with ravaging and destroying the fertile island's crops and dwelling-places, and slaughtering the inhabitants in cold blood, incited his ruffian followers to deeds

[1] Saxon Chronicle, A. 1098; Florence of Worcester, A.D. 1098; Ordericus Vitalis, book x. c. vi.; Annales Cambriæ, 1098; Brut y Tywysogion, 1096; Giraldus, Itin. book ii. c. vii.

CHAP. XV.

of strange and ingenious barbarity, cutting off limbs, plucking out eyes, tearing out tongues, and torturing innocent and unoffending persons for the mere sake of causing anguish; thus taking vengeance for his father's death and for his own previous expulsion from Cymru. It happened, while these atrocities were being perpetrated, that Magnus, a Norwegian Viking, who had lately possessed himself of the Orkney Isles and of the Isle of Man, and was meditating upon further conquests, arrived with his fleet upon the coast. Hearing of the frightful cruelties inflicted upon the people, and touched with compassionate indignation, he was in the act of preparing to land, when the impetuous earl, at the head of his retainers, rushed on horseback to the strand and through the shallow water to oppose him. Magnus seized a bow and shot an arrow towards his face; it glanced from the nose-guard, pierced the right eye, and penetrated the brain of the ferocious Hugh, and as he started, fell, and struggled in the agonies of death among the waves, his destroyer exclaimed with ruthless exultation, 'Let him dance!'

Victory having thus been gained at a stroke, the Norwegians came on shore, but finding only devastation and misery, they immediately re-embarked and set sail, leaving the Normans and the recreant Welshmen to their own devices.

Owen ab Edwyn,[1] the hereditary ruler of Tegeingl, was rewarded for his treachery with dominion over Mona; but bodily illness, although it did not shorten, appears to have embittered the remainder of his life, and he bore to his grave the disgraceful title of Bradwr—the Traitor.

A.D. 1100. § 5. After an absence of two years, the exiled kings[2]

[1] Enwogion Cymru, derived from Myv. Arch. vol. ii. p. 532.

[2] Annales Cambriæ, 1099; Brut y Tywysogion, 1097.

returned to Cymru with Irish auxiliaries. Gruffydd ab Cynan found a welcome in Mona, and possessed himself of the whole island. Cadwgan ab Bleddyn was joyfully received in Ceredigion and Merionydd; but they found themselves constrained by circumstances to conclude a peace with their enemies, and to content themselves for a time with merely taking their places among the native district kings, whose tribal rights as sovereigns of kindred were ever held by the Cymry to be sacred and indefeasible. CHAP. XV.

At this period died the wise and pious Rhythmarch,[1] bishop of St. David's, son of the celebrated Bishop Sulien, and one of the many learned disciples who had been brought up by him.

On August 2, in the same year, an arrow, shot with as sure an aim as that of the Norwegian pirate, struck the breast of William Rufus;[2] and his brother Henry succeeded him upon the throne of England. With the exception of Fitzhamon and a few other barons, the Norman nobles generally beheld with indignation the strong English party which influenced the early measures and the marriage of this king, who, with the unmitigated ferocity of his race, possessed a crafty capability of self-control which rendered him yet more terrible than his outrageous predecessor.

Gruffydd ab Cynan promptly availed himself of the opportunity of making friends of King Henry's hostile nobles, and gradually won back to his dominion the chief districts of his provincial kingdom, notwithstanding the opposition offered by the Earl of Chester, the English monarch's cousin-german.

§ 6. King Gruffydd's cheerful readiness for peaceful

[1] Annales Cambriæ; Brut y Tywysogion.

[2] Saxon Chronicle; Florence of Worcester; Roger of Wendover.

CHAP. XV.

enjoyment, and the quiet and secure condition of Gwynedd, were manifested at this time by the revival of a custom which war and the tyranny of foreign foes had long interrupted. He held a great Eisteddfod[1] of bards and minstrels at Caerwys; and summoned thither all the most skilful musicians from the three provinces of Cymru, together with the most skilful musicians of Ireland, that they might conjointly revise, amend, and improve the twenty-four musical canons which regulated their performances. The propositions resulting from this conference were afterwards formally approved by the Irish king Murchan, the Gwyddelian, at Glyn Achalph, and Gruffydd ab Cynan adopted and confirmed them, and added some of them to the laws of Howel Dda, embodied in certain statutes regulating the admission of pupils, the granting of musical degrees, the fees, circuits, and general discipline of the Cymric minstrels. Music seems to have been better liked by King Gruffydd than poetry, and he evidently preferred wind instruments to those with strings, for he bestowed the chief musical prize at that remarkable Eisteddfod upon an Irish piper, and that prize, for the first and last time, was a silver pipe.

Among the enactments[2] of Gruffydd ab Cynan, it was ordered that every Pencerdd duly invested with the office should be provided by the king with a suitable instrument, a harp to one, a crowd to another, and pipes to a third. Usage, however, invariably persisted in assigning the preference to a harper, and consequently the law entitled him, as Pencerdd Telyn, to

[1] Ancient Laws and Institutes of Wales; Powel's Historie of Cambria, pp. 191, 192; Wynne's History of Wales, ed. 1697, p. 159; Cambrian Register, 1795, art. 'Welsh Music,' p. 386; Stephens's Literature of the Cymry, chapter i. § iii. pp. 65–67.

[2] A. L. and I. of Wales, p. 397.

the services of the other harpers, and of the crowders and pipers, as their authorized chief.

When the king called for music, the Pencerdd was to sing to the harp first a divine hymn, and then a poem in commemoration of the exploits of the sovereign or his predecessors.

§ 7. In the year 1102,[1] Robert de Belesme, third earl of Shrewsbury, and one of the most powerful noblemen in Normandy, in England, and in Wales, being in open rebellion against King Henry, and abetted by his brother Arnulph de Montgomery, prevailed upon Cadwgan ab Bleddyn, and his brothers Iorwerth, Gruffydd, and Maredudd, to make common cause with him for their common benefit. In the progress of this war, the English monarch laid siege to the earl's castle at Bridgnorth, and finding it too strong to be readily taken, opened a secret communication with Iorwerth ab Bleddyn, reminding him of the injuries inflicted by former Earls of Shrewsbury and their family upon himself, his kinsmen, and his countrymen, and offering him the territories possessed in Wales by the insurgent barons free from tribute and homage, and otherwise upon the same conditions by which the conquerors had held them, provided Iorwerth would serve him in this emergency, and be for ever true to him. Beguiled by this enticing proposal, Iorwerth forthwith entered upon a series of operations in furtherance of the king's wishes. Dismayed by his hostility, his brothers soon afterwards dissolved their confederacy, the castle surrendered, the King of England returned home, and the Earl of Shrewsbury and Arnulph de Montgomery were banished from the realm.

[1] Saxon Chronicle; Florence of Worcester; Roger of Wendover; Annales Cambriæ; Brut y Tywysogion; William of Malmesbury, book v.

CHAP. XV.

So zealously did Iorwerth espouse the cause of King Henry, that he arrested his own brother Maredudd, and placed him as a prisoner in the hands of the royal officers; but when he repaired to the English court, expecting to receive the title to his promised reward, the perfidious monarch coolly refused to fulfil his contract, dismissed him from his presence, and assigned the territories nominally confiscated to other aspirants.

Later in the same year, King Henry, fearing the strength and the indignation of Iorwerth ab Bleddyn, summoned him to attend before Richard bishop of London, warden of the Welsh Marches, at Shrewsbury, in order to assist at a conference. Deceived by this pretext Iorwerth arrived, and was treacherously seized, arraigned, and imprisoned there as a traitor.

In 1103, Maredudd ab Bleddyn broke out of his English prison, escaped to his own country, and regained the possession of his Cymric inheritance.

The Normans who had married Welsh heiresses retained their possessions in the midst of all these commotions, and being worthily treated while the national party stood predominant, they behaved as natives of the country, but their permanent settlement undoubtedly conduced to the subsequent triumphs of the Lords Marchers. The strong family affection of the Cymry, their general reverence for consanguinity, and even for the ties of affinity, influenced likewise the native kings and nobles who married Norman wives, and conduced to the completion of conquests which hostile means alone could never have secured.

These sovereign lords built castles and towns, sometimes on ancient sites, and sometimes on fresh ground: thus arose Pembroke, Tenby, and Haverfordwest, Newport, Cydweli, Swansea, Oystermouth, Loughwr,

Radnor, Buallt, Rhaiadyr, Blaenllynfi, Abergavenny, Ruthin, Denbigh, &c. Although the writs of the King of England, issued at Westminster, had no force except within that part of Dyfed now known as Pembrokeshire, and his majesty claimed no right to interfere with the internal government of any other part of Wales, he derived an accession of military strength from the Lords Marchers, who were severally bound by oath to serve in his wars with a specified number of retainers.

These barons introduced into Wales the fictitious [1] theory of feudal tenure, with all its chivalrous and slavish appendages; and they rigorously enforced its laws upon their retainers, and upon the people of every nation and degree who settled under their sway; but after having experienced the fierce and obstinate resistance of the natives, they generally found it expedient to allow their Welsh subjects to be governed according to the code of Howel Dda and the customs of the country, excepting only in such particulars as directly clashed with baronial authority.

Two courts were therefore instituted in many Norman lordships, one for the administration of the feudal law, of which the proceedings were carried on after the manner used in England, the other for the administration of the native laws in the native language; but these regulations depending wholly upon the arbitrary will of individual Lords Marchers, were liable to frequent infringement, and the subjected Cymry, ever zealous for freedom, watched over this last remaining privilege with ceaseless anxiety.

[2] Often in connection with secular settlers, and some-

[1] Stephen's New Comm. ed. iii. vol. iv. p. 535.

[2] Dugdale, Monast. Anglic.; Thierry's Norman Conquest, Whittaker's ed. 1841, pp. 154, 155.

CHAP. XV.

times merely by the crafty management of the English primate, the intrusive Norman clergy and monks drove out the native ecclesiastics, and seized upon their livings.

Then, for the first time, the civil and ecclesiastical courts[1] of jurisdiction were separated, and the latter, being wholly subservient to the interests of Rome, were directed with hostile and unswerving perseverance against the independence of the ancient British Church. Most of the Norman barons and many of the knights erected on their several possessions either an abbey, or still more frequently a priory, which being endowed with Cymric lands was annexed as a source of revenue to a similar institution in Normandy or in England.

These monasteries, being supplied with foreign monks or canons, introduced for the first time into Wales transubstantiation, purgatory, communion in one kind, the idolatrous worship of saints and images, and the antichristian acknowledgment of the universal supremacy and infallibility of the Roman See.

Besides the foreign ecclesiastics who were thus localized by private patrons, the country was oppressed by many others, for the King of England seized upon every available opportunity of appointing Normans to the bishopries, archdeaconries, and other offices of dignity and influence in the established church of Cymru.

In the year 1107,[2] Hervey, a Norman, being bishop of Bangor, and the see of St. Asaph being also subjected to similar influence, Urban,[3] another Norman,

[1] Stephen's New Commentaries on the Laws of England, ed. 1853, vol. iii. book v. c. v. p. 421; vol. iv. book vi. c. vi. pp. 237, 238, and c. xxvii. p. 532.

[2] Florence of Worcester, A.D. 1102, 1109; Nicolas, Synopsis of the Peerage of England, ed. 1825, vol. ii. pp. 825, 855.

[3] Florence of Worcester, A.D. 1107, 1115; Roger of Wendover, A.D. 1107, 1109; Brut y Tywysogion, 1104.

was consecrated bishop of Llandaff by Anselm, archbishop of Canterbury, upon Sunday, August 2; and Gruffydd,[1] bishop of St. David's, was not only stripped of the privileges of his primacy, but remained the only Cymro in possession of a Cymric see.

Hervey maintained his position for some time by force[2] of arms, actually fighting against the nominal sheep of his pasture at the head of a body of soldiers. The outraged Cymry drove him away at last, and he obtained the sympathy of Pope Pascal as a victim to religious persecution. William of Malmesbury mentions[3] that the scanty revenues of the see of Bangor caused Hervey to desert it for Ely.

The ordinary means by which the Norman prelates strove to manage their Welsh dioceses was by the fulmination of anathemas, and thus the minds and hearts of the Cymry were darkened, hardened, and embittered to the uttermost.

About this period, Gerald de Windsor, once the seneschal of Arnulph de Montgomery, was appointed to be president of Dyfed by King Henry, who, as a check upon Gerald's home influences, and in counteraction of the perpetual efforts made by the ousted or subjected Cymry to regain possession of their lands, planted a numerous and sturdy colony[4] of Flemings in the district of Rhos. Being labourers and mechanics, capable of bearing arms, and arranged A.D. 1108.

[1] Nicolas's Synopsis, p. 839.

[2] Roger of Hovedon; Hoare's Giraldus, Itin. vol. ii. book ii.; Annotations on chapter vi. p. 519; Thierry's Norman Conquest, Whittaker's ed. 1841, p. 155.

[3] Book v.

[4] William of Malmesbury, book v.; Florence of Worcester, A.D. 1111; Giraldus, Itin. book i. c. xi.; Annales Cambriæ, 1107; Brut y Tywysogion, 1105.

CHAP. XV.

under Norman feudatories of the king, they established themselves so firmly upon the soil, that it soon became known as 'Little England beyond Wales,' and retains the appellation even in the nineteenth century.

§ 8. Cadwgan ab Bleddyn's second wife was the daughter of Picot de Say, a Norman baron, who had acquired lands in Wales, with which she was endowed. Her influence may have tended to soften the pangs of that political submission which circumstances extorted from Cadwgan; but, although an impenetrable barrier stopped his martial career, the head, heart, and hand of this illustrious man were ever occupied in striving to promote the welfare of his people. About the year 1108, being then the district sovereign of Ceredigion, Cadwgan [1] held a great Eisteddfod at Christmas, and invited the kings, princes, and lords of the three Cymric provinces to his castle of Aberteiri, that they might witness the competition of the most distinguished bards and minstrels, and assist in bestowing upon them rewards and honours. In the records of this Eisteddfod only stringed instruments are mentioned, and the proceedings are said to have been conducted according to the rules of King Arthur's court. Among the festivities of this meeting, the fiery Owen, a son of Cadwgan's first marriage, and already a renowned warrior, yielded up his reason and his conscience to a frantic passion for the Princess Nest, his kinswoman, a daughter of King Rhys ab Tewdwr, and the wife of Gerald de Windsor. Knowing that she

[1] Annales Cambriæ, 1110——; Brut y Tywysogion, 1106——; Powel's Hist. of Cambria, pp. 163–171; Stephens, Literature of the Cymry, pp. 337–338, quoting Myv. Arch. vol. ii. p. 537; Selections from the Iolo MSS. W. MSS. Society, p. 630.

had some years before been seduced while a hostage, and under pretence of marriage, by the King of England, and steeled against compunction by a recollection of Norman wrongs, he visited her as a kinsman at Penbroch, and afterwards, assisted by a band of fourteen reckless roisterers, set fire one night to her husband's castle, and carried off thence into Powys, Gerald's treasures of worldly wealth, together with his children and wife.

King Cadwgan, on hearing of this outrage, went promptly to his son, rebuked his moral madness, and commanded him to restore instantly and at once the captives and the plunder to their owner. The headstrong Owen set remonstrances and commands alike at defiance, but, after a time, he complied with Nest's entreaty, and sent the children back again to Gerald de Windsor.

Meanwhile, like wildfire in a forest, the kindling flames of retribution spread with devastating fury throughout Dyfed, Ceredigion, and Southern Powys. In the former, Gerald de Windsor and his followers raged, destroying all around them. Ithel and Madog, the discontented sons of Riryd (a deceased brother of Cadwgan), were immediately employed by the unscrupulous Bishop of London, then warden of the Marches and president of Salop, to kill or capture Owen for his atrocious deeds, and Cadwgan for a falsely alleged participation in their guilt. With Ithel and Madog, the bishop associated Uchtryd ab Edwyn and Llywarch ab Trahaern, whose two brothers had been slain by Owen; and these four princes solemnly pledged their word to bring Owen and his father, either alive or dead, to the bishop's feet at Shrewsbury. Marching through Maesyfed into Ceredigion, laying waste the

CHAP. XV.

country as they passed, all the inhabitants must have perished, if Uchtryd had not sent private intimations beforehand to warn them of approaching danger. Many, nevertheless, fled only to districts where they fell upon the edge of Norman swords. The day before these sanguinary human huntsmen reached the coast, Cadwgan and Owen had embarked from Aberystwyth on board an Irish ship, and sailing northward found a temporary refuge in Merionydd. Uchtryd did his best to avert from the people the cruel rage of his nominal coadjutors, but excepting only the sanctuaries of Llanbadarn and Llanddewi-Brefi, out of which they forced some objects of their enmity, the whole region, so lately peaceful and well-cultured under the beneficent rule of Cadwgan, soon lay a deserted, charred, and plundered waste.

Owen, with his spoils and his accomplices, crossed over into Ireland, where he met with a hospitable reception. Cadwgan, still lurking among his Powysian subjects, entered into communication with King Henry, in order to exonerate himself from all complicity in the heinous deeds of his ungovernable son. The English monarch consequently exacted from him a fine of 100*l.*, and gave him permission to return to desolated Ceredigion. Cadwgan recalled the scared inhabitants to their homes, and, under his encouraging eye, the fields were tilled again, and all the usages of quiet and well-ordered industry re-established; but the paternal heritage of Cadwgan in Powys remained a prey to the quarrelsome brothers Ithel and Madog, who, with the King of England's sanction, divided the lands and tyrannized over the inhabitants.

Prince Owen, having heard of these transactions, returned from Ireland with his party, and his father

refusing to receive him, he took shelter in Powys, and attempted in vain to find either a mediator or messenger between himself and King Henry. It chanced at that time that certain convicted criminals from England fled for refuge to Madog ab Riryd, whose refusal to deliver them up to the warden of the Marches provoked the angry hostility of that potent dignitary. Madog, waywardly setting the warden at defiance, sent a conciliating message to Owen, whose life he had lately sought, and whom he had hunted down, despoiled, and ruined. The recent enemies met and swore a solemn oath of perpetual friendship to each other, and of united action against the King of England and his officers. This covenant formed the starting-point of a series of marauding excursions, with which the turbulent cousins harassed the lands of all who had incurred their enmity, fellow-countrymen and foreigners alike. The former they could oppress with impunity, for nothing pleased King Henry better than to see the Cymry occupied in destroying one another; but for their misdeeds against the Normans future retribution was in store.

[1]Iorwerth ab Bleddyn soon afterwards obtained liberation from his long imprisonment, with permission to regain his own territories, upon condition of paying to the English King the worth of 300*l.* Out of this large sum, the extortioner was pleased, as a condescending token of favour, to bestow 10*l.* upon Henry, a son of Cadwgan's second marriage, his godchild, and one of the first of the Cymric race ever baptized by that Christian name. A.D. 1109.

Meanwhile Owen and Madog ravaged and pillaged

[1] Annales Cambriæ, 1111; Brut y Tywysogion, 1107——; Powel's Historie of Cambria, 1109.

CHAP. XV.

still more extensively the lands of the Normans and the goods of the English settlers, withdrawing when pursued to the territories of their uncle Iorwerth, although that prince had warned them that such trespasses upon him and upon Cadwgan brought both within the threatened sweep of King Henry's vengeance. Finding words to be useless, Iorwerth had recourse to deeds, and drove the intruders from his district. This being done, they resorted to the territory of Uchtryd in Merionydd, from whence, after an obstinate resistance, they were likewise forcibly expelled.

Madog with his freebooters then returned to his former abode in another part of Powys. Owen, with his party, established his head-quarters within Cadwgan's district, while he made a series of marauding visits to Dyfed, using the ships, which had come with him from Ireland, as prisons for the detention of captive personages until ransomed, and for the reception of plundered cattle and goods. Owen had pillaged and burned a Flemish town, and had encouraged his wild comates in various deeds of mischief, when, hearing that William of Brabant, a bishop of the Flemings, was travelling with his retinue from the Pembrokeshire coast to the English court, they waylaid, robbed, and slew him. It happened that Cadwgan and Iorwerth were with King Henry on other business when the brother of the murdered prelate arrived with the horrid tidings, and gave information that the culprits had found refuge in Ceredigion. The enraged monarch permitted Iorwerth to return at once to his home, but he detained Cadwgan in England, bitterly reproaching him with his inability to control his son. Then sending for Gilbert de Clare, surnamed Strongbow, who had long eagerly desired to acquire lands in Wales, he bade that bold

adventurer win, and possess the inheritance of Cadwgan ab Bleddyn.

Owen and Riryd, hearing of these arrangements, immediately embarked for Ireland.

Strongbow, with all the forces he could collect speedily attacked Ceredigion by sea, overcame the opposition of the inhabitants, built the castles of Aberystwyth and Dyngeraint to overawe Cymric neighbours in the north and south, and held possession of the territory by force of arms. Meanwhile, the restless Madog ab Riryd returned from Ireland, and entered the territory of his uncle Iorwerth; which appears to have comprised nearly the whole of the present county of Montgomery. Iorwerth no sooner heard at Mathrafal the unwelcome news, than he issued a proclamation forbidding his subjects to receive the interloper, and enjoining them to treat him as an enemy. Madog then gathered together a band of unthrifts and outlaws, and skulked in the rocks and woods seeking for an occasion to be revenged. With this object in view, he also opened a communication with Llywarch ab Trahaern, a family foe, who cherished a peculiar and deadly hatred against Iorwerth. Hearing, one evening, that Iorwerth was sojourning at Caereinion, the confederates at midnight encompassed his dwelling with their forces.

Iorwerth and his attendants, being awakened by the attack, manfully defended themselves until the assailants set fire to the building; the attendants then lost discipline, a few of them escaped through the flames, the others perished in attempting to save themselves; and the valiant Iorwerth, ever self-possessed, rushing forth sword in hand, was received upon hostile spears, cast back again into the fire, and consumed in it.

After this frightful tragedy, Cadwgan was permitted

CHAP. XV.

to return into Wales, and to rescue the possessions of Iorwerth from the grasp of the ruffian who had destroyed him.

Influenced also by the arguments of Cadwgan, or by the persuasions of Robert Fitz Henry, the son of Nest, King Henry consented to the recall of Owen from Ireland. Owen had not arrived, but Cadwgan had already reduced the troubled inhabitants of the district to that state of quiet docility which a strong and just government alone can produce, when, taking with him one day the principal persons, he occupied himself in surveying a site at Trallwng (Welsh Pool), intending to erect there a castle for his future residence. As he stood thus unsuspicious and unprepared, Madog and his ruffians sprung suddenly forth, slew him, and fled. Thus died Cadwgan, a king innately great, and an heroic patriot,[1] A. D. 1112.

[1] Annales Cambriæ.

CHAPTER XVI.

THE CYMRY AND THE NORMANS.

FROM THE DEATH OF CADWGAN AB BLEDDYN TO THE DEATH OF GRUFFYDD AB CYNAN, A.D. 1112-1137.

They that fight for freedom undertake
The noblest cause mankind can have at stake;
Religion, virtue, truth, whate'er we call
A blessing, freedom is the pledge of all.
Oh liberty! the prisoner's pleasing dream,
The poet's muse, his passion, and his theme,
Genius is thine, and thou art fancy's nurse,
Lost without thee the ennobling powers of verse,
Heroic song from thy free touch acquires
Its clearest tone, the rapture it inspires.

COWPER: *Table Talk.*

CHAP XVI.

A.D. 1112.

§ 1. MADOG AB RIRYD,[1] upon payment of a fine, was received into favour by Richard de Belmis, bishop of London, warden of the Marches, and recognized as heir to the lands of his captive brother Ithel. Maredudd ab Bleddyn held the guardianship of the vacant territory until Owen, the eldest surviving son of Cadwgan, returned from Ireland, when, with King Henry's sanction, upon the promise of a heavy fine and the delivery of hostages, that prince took possession of his uncle Iorwerth's inheritance.

Maredudd ab Bleddyn, thirsting for vindictive justice, sent forth his warriors upon an expedition against

[1] Annales Cambriæ, 1112——; Brut y Tywysogion, 1108——.

CHAP. XVI.

Llywarch ab Trahaern. To reach his place of abode, it was necessary for these hostile emissaries to cross the lands of Madog ab Riryd, and hearing on the way that he was near at hand, they laid an ambush for him, seized him, and brought him to Maredudd; who immediately sent for Owen ab Cadwgan and delivered the prisoner into his hands. Although Madog had grossly broken their mutual oath of friendship, Owen still felt its force, and refrained from taking away his life, but he did not scruple to have him blinded, and to deprive him of all his possessions.

A.D. 1114.

[1]While the district sovereigns of Powys and Deheubarth were thus aiding the Normans by destroying one another, Gruffydd ab Cynan continued to maintain his national independence, doing no homage and paying no tribute for his rescued kingdom of Gwynedd.

Richard, earl of Chester, complained to his cousin King Henry, that Gruffydd ab Cynan and Gronwy ab Owen ab Edwyn of Tegeingl committed frequent devastations upon Cheshire; and Gilbert de Clare made similar mention of the trespasses committed by Owen ab Cadwgan's men upon Ceredigion and Dyfed, until at last the English monarch in a rage swore that he would not leave one Welshman alive either in North Wales or Powys. Intending to put this threat into execution, he assembled at Midsummer a large army, to which Alexander the Fierce, king of Scotland, brought a strong body of auxiliaries. This army marched in three divisions, respectively led by the Earl of Chester, with whom went the King of Scotland; by Gilbert de Clare, surnamed Strongbow; and by the

[1] Annales Cambriæ, A.D. 1114; Brut y Tywysogion, 1111——; Saxon Chronicle, 1114; Florence of Worcester, 1114; Roger of Wendover 1113; Powel's Historie of Cambria, pp. 172, 173.

King of England; the first division being directed against Gwynedd, the second against the unsubdued parts of Deheubarth, and the third against Powys. The approach of this tremendous host brought Maredudd ab Bleddyn to King Henry's feet, and sent Owen ab Cadwgan to King Gruffydd ab Cynan.

Powys being thus disarmed, the English monarch joined his division to that of the Earl of Chester and advanced into Gwynedd as far as Murcastel, while the Scottish king, acting in concert with them, penetrated as far as Pennant Bachwy. The inhabitants retired with their cattle and goods to the mountains, rocks, and woods, and King Gruffydd with his warriors watchfully guarded the rhiws and defiles, and cut off or repulsed all assailants. Baffled, harassed, and perplexed by Cymric strategy, King Henry gave orders for the erection of several castles, and made many vain attempts to conciliate the sovereigns whom he came avowedly to sweep with their people from the face of the earth.

At last he sent Maredudd ab Bleddyn as an envoy to Owen, Maredudd's nephew, pretending that Gruffydd had already made a separate peace with the Earl of Chester, and promising quiet possession of his territories and exemption from tribute as the price of reconciliation and friendship. Thus allured, Owen came to the monarch and was received with such distinguished honour, that King Gruffydd likewise ventured to negotiate, and upon his undertaking to pay a large sum of money, peace was really established, and the vast army of England retired from Cymru.

At King Henry's request, Owen ab Cadwgan in the following September accompanied him to Normandy, where he acquitted himself so gallantly and loyally

CHAP. XVI.

that he received the honour of knighthood; and, on his return in the month of July 1115, all the promises which the king had made to him were punctually fulfilled.

§ 2. In the course of the same year died Gruffydd,[1] bishop of St. David's, whom the Englishmen called Wilfrid; and, to the astonishment and grief of all Cymru, King Henry, on September 18, appointed Bernard,[2] the queen's chancellor, to fill the vacant see. Bernard was on the same day ordained a priest at Southwark by William, bishop of Winchester, and on the day following he was consecrated at Westminster, by Ralph, archbishop of Canterbury.

Until this period, the Bishops of St. David's had constantly asserted their freedom from the jurisdiction of Canterbury, and the right of the Cymric clergy to elect their own metropolitan; and the object of Bernard's appointment evidently was that he might, as Cymric primate and metropolitan, accept the long disputed jurisdiction, and acknowledge the subjection of the see of St. David's to the primate of the English Church. The importance attached by the English ecclesiastics to the diocese of Dewi is indicated by the frequent mention made in the 'Saxon Chronicle' of the Bishop of Wales.

Bernard,[3] bishop of St. David's, subserved during several years the object of his appointment, by attending at the consecration of bishops and of monasteries, and at other pompous ceremonies, in which the Archbishop of Canterbury assembled his subordinate prelates; but these actions of his denoted merely the compliance of a courtier with his sovereign's wishes, and whenever

[1] Annales Cambriæ, 1115; Brut y Tywysogion, 1112.
[2] Florence of Worcester, 1115; Roger of Wendover, 1115.
[3] Saxon Chronicle.

ecclesiastical controversies arose between the monks, canons, and clerks, he boldly took the side which was favoured by his patron King Henry.

§ 3. Goronwy the eldest surviving son of King Rhys ab Tewdwr, had died a hostage in England; Gruffydd,[1] a younger one, had been brought up in Ireland; and at the age of twenty-five was privately sojourning with his brother-in-law, Gerald de Windsor, and visiting other persons connected with him either by marriage or consanguinity, when the attention of his oppressed compatriots concentred itself upon him as the future restorer of the national liberties of Deheubarth. King Henry, being informed of the fact, issued immediate orders for his arrest; but Gruffydd ab Rhys, before they could be executed, had sought and found refuge with King Gruffydd ab Cynan, whose daughter Gwenllian he afterwards married. Gruffydd ab Rhys had not long resided at Aberfraw, when King Henry entered into a courteous correspondence with the King of Gwynedd, and invited him to a personal conference. Gruffydd ab Cynan went accordingly to England, and the crafty English monarch so skilfully beguiled the worldly heart of the aged Cymric king by flattering attentions, obliging speeches, costly gifts, and gorgeous promises, that Gruffydd ab Cynan consented to deliver up his guiltless and confiding guest, the son of his old friend, into the hands of their country's foe. On returning home to Aberfraw, his first inquiry was for Gruffydd ab Rhys, and hearing in reply that the intended victim had fled, he sent out instantly a troop of horsemen in pursuit of him. The fugitive, being nearly

[1] Annales Cambriæ, 1115; Brut y Tywysogion, 1112; Florence of Worcester, 1116; Powel's Historie of Cambria; Williams Enwogion Cymru.

CHAP. XVI.

overtaken, took sanctuary in the church of Aberdaron, and the baffled pursuers returned to their employer, who, impatient of opposition, commanded them immediately to go forth again and to tear the young prince from his place of refuge by force of arms. The execution of this mandate was prevented by the clergy of the place and neighbourhood, who all arose with one accord to forbid and to withstand a sacrilegious invasion of the privileges of the church. Time having thus been gained, a few brave and compassionate men assisted the escape of the young prince at night, and conveyed him by sea to the wilds of Ystrad Towy. There, finding himself compelled to take arms for the preservation of his life, Gruffydd ab Rhys exerted his most strenuous efforts in levying forces, and was soon enabled to enter upon a course of hostile action against the Normans and Flemings of that vicinity. In the year 1116, he laid siege to a castle near Narberth, won it, and levelled its walls with the ground. He next attacked and set fire to the castles of Llanymddyfry and Abertawy, made marauding inroads upon Dyfed, and advanced to assault the castle of Caermarddyn. It was valiantly defended for King Henry by Welsh auxiliaries who saved it from capture, although the governor lost his life, and the adjacent town was sacked and destroyed. The partisans of Gruffydd ab Rhys increased with his successes, and marching into Gwyr, he took several castles, and despoiled the whole district of its cattle and other wealth. Being now regarded with hope, as the deliverer of his oppressed country, he received an invitation from the Cymry of Ceredigion to come and reign over them. This could only be done by the expulsion of Strongbow and his colonies; but Gruffydd ab Rhys did not shrink from accepting

both the conflict and the crown. He promptly marched into Ceredigion Iscoed, laid siege to the earl's castle at Blaen-porth-gwithan, won it, burned the adjacent town, and subdued the whole neighbourhood as far as Penwedig. He afterwards took by assault the castle of Ystrad Pwll, and intending to refresh his troops previous to attacking Earl Gilbert's chief stronghold, the castle of Aberystwyth, he encamped them at Glasgryg, within a mile of Llanbadarn. It chanced that some of the cattle which grazed within the limits of the extensive sanctuary[1] attached to that ancient monastery, were slaughtered by the troops for food, and the recollection of this action, which they believed to be wrong, and of the consequent reproaches of the monks, tended probably to abate their courage the next day, when, after a rash attack upon a reinforced garrison, Gruffydd ab Rhys was constrained to withdraw with great loss, and not only to abandon his attempt upon Aberystwyth Castle, but also to retreat from Ceredigion, and to return to Ystrad Towy.

While these events were passing, King Henry, indignant and exasperated by the tidings heard from the fugitive settlers whom Gruffydd ab Rhys had rooted out, sent speedily for Owen ab Cadwgan, assured him of his confidence, promised future favours and multiplied rewards, and arranged with him that, in concert with Llywarch ab Trahaern, Owen should join an army under young Robert Fitz Henry with the especial object of capturing or slaying Gruffydd ab Rhys. Owen ab Cadwgan, enchanted by the monarch's promises, and rejoicing in congenial employment, exhorted his troops to take as much pains in this expedition to please King Henry as they had done in former times to

[1] Giraldus, Description of Wales, book i. c. xviii.

CHAP. XVI.

offend him. Marching with Llywarch ab Trahaern towards Ystrad Towy, where Robert Consul had appointed the rendezvous, they jointly made a vow, that they would not spare the life of either man, woman, or child within that district. Appalled at the rumour of this dreadful doom, the people fled in all directions, hiding themselves in woods, rocks, caves, and even behind the castle walls of their Norman foes.

In passing through the glades of a forest, Owen ab Cadwgan, with about a hundred of his followers, overtook a party of those unhappy fugitives. Some of them took to flight, the rest he slew, and, laden with their spoils, marched slowly after the main body of his forces.

The Cymric peasants, who had escaped from his sword, fled through the forest in another direction, and encountered Gerald de Windsor, who was also leading his forces to the appointed place of meeting. They loudly complained to him of the rapine and murderous cruelty of Owen ab Cadwgan, and the sound of that detested name aroused the slumbering vengeance of Nest's injured husband. He hastened therefore in pursuit of Owen, who was warned by scouts of his approach, but took no precautions, and refused to use greater speed, believing that coadjutors appointed by King Henry could not advance towards that king's auxiliary with hostile purposes. A heavy flight of arrows soon convinced him of his error, and turning round to face his assailants, he bade his men fight bravely, for though their foes outnumbered them by seven to one, yet those foes were only Flemings, who dreaded the very name of the Cymry, and were good for nothing but to tipple. With these words, he made an onset upon his pursuers, and, as he cheered, a hostile arrow pierced his heart. His followers instantly fled

and rejoined their companions; and Llywarch ab Trahaern, distrusting the King of England's intentions, immediately returned into Powys and disbanded his forces.

A.D. 1116.

These occurrences gave Gruffydd ab Rhys an opportunity of treating with his nephew Robert Consul and with his brother-in-law Gerald de Windsor; and, by King Henry's sufferance, the heir of Deheubarth was permitted to retain possession of sufficient land to afford him maintenance as a nobleman.

Giraldus Cambrensis mentioning incidentally the lake of Brycheiniog, better known as [1] Llynsafadden, relates a preternatural legend of the place, which may serve to illustrate the tenacious hold which the princes of Cymric lineage retained upon the affections of the imaginative Silures.

Gruffydd ab Rhys had visited England and done homage to Henry I. for one cwmwd of the Cantref Caioc, and was returning in the winter time, accompanied by Earl Milo, Payn Fitz John, and others, when passing along Cathedin, and viewing the vast and serene surface of the lake, and the numerous birds which were sheltering in the reeds and weeds, Earl Milo tauntingly reminded Gruffydd of a local tradition, which asserted that the birds of that lake were wont to sing at the bidding of their sovereign. The indignant Cymro replied to the Lord of Brycheiniog, that it behoved him then and the Lord of Ewyas to give the command. These intruders upon Welsh soil issued their orders accordingly, but no obedience followed, until the true King of Deheubarth alighted from his horse, bent his knees reverently in prayer, and arising and making the sign of the cross, bade the birds proclaim the lineal

[1] Hoare's ed. Itin. book i. c. ii. vol. i. pp. 37, 38.

CHAP. XVI.

heir of the soil. This, it is added, they immediately did, and of course most melodiously.

§ 4. The amicable relations which subsisted between England and Wales in the year 1120, are indicated by the fact, that a venerable clerk named David,[1] who had been chosen by King Gruffydd ab Cynan and the Cymric clergy and people, was on April 4 consecrated to the see of Bangor by Ralph, archbishop of Canterbury, assisted by Richard, bishop of London, Robert, bishop of Lincoln, Roger, bishop of Salisbury, and Urban, bishop of Llandaff.

Maredudd ab Bleddyn and his nephews, the surviving sons of Cadwgan, divided Owen's lands between them; and Maredudd ab Bleddyn with his sons, and Einion and Madog ab Cadwgan took part in several acts of warfare against their countrymen, by which they increased their wealth and acquired additional territory and influence. In the summer of the year 1121,[2] King Henry, annoyed by the inroads of Maredudd upon Cheshire and the Marches, led a large army into Powys, intending to effect the entire subjugation of that provincial kingdom. Alarmed at his approach, Maredudd, in conjunction with Einion, Madog, and Morgan, his nephews, sent messengers to ask for military aid from Gruffydd ab Cynan; but the aged king not only refused their request, but declared himself to be at peace with King Henry, and warned them not to trespass upon Gwynedd. Being thus thrown wholly upon their own resources, Maredudd ab Bleddyn and his allies put in practice the strategy usually employed

[1] Florence of Worcester, Cont. i. A.D. 1120.

[2] Saxon Chronicle, 1121; Florence of Worcester, Cont. i.; William of Malmesbury, book v.; Henry of Huntingdon; Annales Cambriæ, 1121; Brut y Tywysogion, 1118.

by the Cymry against powerful invaders, forsaking the open country, securing their families, cattle, and goods in places of difficult access, and strongly defending the glades and narrow passes in which they could attack the invaders to advantage. The King of England entered unawares into one of these lurking-places, and was suddenly aroused to a sense of danger by a thick flight of arrows, which slew several of his attendants, and wounded many more, while one arrow struck him so heavy a blow upon the breast, that, under Divine Providence, he owed his life merely to the strength of his hauberk. Dreading to meet an obscure death by some English assassin's hand, under covert of Welsh warfare, he immediately entered into communication with Maredudd ab Bleddyn, and upon receiving hostages of submission, a fine of a thousand cattle and a sum of money, he appointed Fitzwarin to the wardenship of the Welsh Marches, and returned with his army into England.

§ 5. With a view to conciliate the Cymric clergy, and to bring them under the more direct authority of the church of Rome, Pope Calixtus II. about this time used not only ambitious, but also superstitious and mercenary incentives. He canonized Dewi[1] and several other saintly men of the Ancient British Church, whose memories were held in especial veneration by the people, and [2]admonished English pilgrims rather to visit St. David's than Rome, allowing the benefit of the same benediction to such as went twice to St. David's as to those who went once to Rome. These politic measures seem also to have been intended to counteract a peculiar tendency of the Welsh bards during the twelfth

[1] Rees's Welsh Saints, p. 201.

[2] William of Malmesbury, book v.

CHAP. XVI.

century; for they had so enthusiastically studied the traditional remains of ancient British literature, that they had become completely imbued with its mythology, and their writings afford obvious grounds for the suspicion that not only their poetical sentiments but their orthodoxy was in some degree affected by a revival[1] of Druidic tenets. Distinction from inferior grades of the bardic brotherhood was the apparent motive which prompted Cynddelw and his compeers to assume the title and dignity of Druid Bards.

A.D. 1123.[2] § 6. The death of Eineon ab Cadwgan gave rise to fresh quarrels among his kinsmen, who disputed the possession of his lands in Merionydd; and, with the apparent intention of augmenting strife, King Henry at this time set at liberty the long captive prince, Ithel ab Riryd ab Bleddyn. Gruffydd ab Cynan, having heard that Maredudd ab Bleddyn had forcibly appropriated the disputed lands, sent a warlike expedition into Powys, headed by two of his own sons, Cadwallawn and Owen, who ravaged Maredudd's territories, subduing all opponents, and returned to Lleyn bringing with them many noble prisoners and herds of cattle.[2]

The sons of Cadwgan retaliated this wrong by ravaging the lands of Llywarch ab Trahaern, who had aided the inroad of the North Welsh princes.

In the year 1124, the royal families of Cymru appear to have been afflicted with an homicidal mania; or rather, covetousness of land, and of the pre-eminence and power conferred by its possession, grew by indulgence into an uncontrollable passion among the Welsh princes, and led them to commit a series of enormous crimes.

[1] Herbert's Neo-Druidic Heresy.

[2] Annales Cambriæ, 1123; Brut y Tywysogion, 1121; Powel's Historie of Cambria.

The aged Maredudd ab Bleddyn caused Ithel ab Riryd, his nephew, to be put to death; and, soon afterwards, Cadwallawn ab Gruffydd ab Cynan slew his four maternal uncles, the sons of Owen ab Edwyn; and Morgan ab Cadwgan murdered his half brother Maredudd with his own hands. Merciless revenge upon each other, added to the unabated prevalence of the same murderous rage for superiority, renders the record of several succeeding years a horrible and shameful page in Cymric history. No instance of penitence can be cited unless the remorse of [1]Morgan ab Cadwgan included that feeling. That wretched fratricide set out upon a pilgrimage to Jerusalem to try and expiate the guilt of blood; and, in returning, died at Cyprus, far from the lands which his crime had won.

The state of religious feeling both among the clergy and laity was miserably low at this period, and the conscience of the age was, on the whole, a seared and senseless one to all but ecclesiastical offences or flagrant social wrongs; nevertheless, a quiet few still directed their own hearts and lives to God, and did their best to diffuse the knowledge of Christ's salvation. With these may be reckoned Daniel, archdeacon of Powys, a learned and pious man, who, after having vainly endeavoured to promote peace and goodwill among his countrymen, died about the year 1127. He was one of the sons of the pious Bishop Sulien, and brother of Bishop Rhythmarch.

It must not be thought that the social state of Wales at this period was worse than that of other countries;[2] on the contrary, historic proof exists that, throughout

[1] Annales Cambriæ, 1128; Brut y Tywysogion, 1125.

[2] Hallam's View of the State of Europe during the Middle Ages, 11th ed. 1855, vol. iii. pp. 167–169.

CHAP. XVI.

the Middle Ages, the forcible dispossession of freeholds was the chief offence brought before the English law courts, and that all Europe exhibited 'a scene of intestine anarchy.'

In the year 1132,[1] Cadwallawn, the eldest son of King Gruffydd ab Cynan, was slain at Nantheudy by his maternal kinsmen, in vengeance for those whom he had formerly put to death.

In hostile encounters, or solitary prisons, the families of Llywarch ab Trahaern and of Cadwgan ab Bleddyn had been nearly extirpated, when Maredudd ab Bleddyn, having gained the object of his life's perverted intention and effort, by becoming the most wealthy and potent prince in Powys, passed quietly away from all his acquisitions into a world where no other treasure can be taken but holiness and love.

§ 7. Disputes,[2] both of property and precedency, had long continued between the diocesans of St. David's and Llandaff, who referred the decision of their differences to Rome. The Pope inclined sometimes to one side of the question and sometimes to the other, according to the preponderance in weight of the rivals' fees, and the contention was at length brought to a conclusion by the death of Bishop Urban, after which Innocent II. gave judgment justly and definitely in favour of Bishop Bernard's claims. The districts in dispute were Gwyr, Cydweli, Cantref Bychan, Ystrad Yw, and Ergyng.

§ 8. In the year 1134, after an imprisonment of twenty-eight years, Robert, duke of Normandy,[3] died in Caerdiff Castle. On December 1, 1135, [4]King Henry

[1] Annales Cambriæ, 1132; Brut y Tywysogion, 1129.

[2] Rees of Cascob's Preface to the Liber Landavensis, W. MSS. Society, § xv. pp. xli. xliii.; Florence of Worcester, Cont. i. A.D. 1128; Henry of Huntingdon; Rees's Welsh Saints, p. 185.

[3] Florence of Worcester, Cont. i.; Roger of Wendover.

[4] Saxon Chronicle.

died in Normandy, and Stephen[1] de Blois soon afterwards commenced a disputed and troubled reign over England.

The Cymry who had scarcely dared for twelve years to lift a hand against their Norman oppressors, although Gruffydd ab Rhys had been within that period deprived on some pretext of his lands, regarded Henry's death as the signal for a general insurrection, and Gruffydd ab Rhys immediately collected an army, and raised the standard of independence in Ystrad Towy. On January 1, 1136, a ferocious engagement took place in Gwyr,[2] between these troops and 500 Norman men-at-arms, who being suddenly attacked, formed themselves into a wedge, and attempted to force their way through their enemies, but were all cut to pieces, and their corpses left to be dragged about the fields and devoured by wolves. Encouraged by this success, the insurgents multiplied, and Gruffydd headed a desperate onslaught upon the homesteads, villages, towns, and castles of the foreign settlers in the southern districts of Deheubarth.

On April 15, Richard[3] de Clare with his retinue, passing on his equestrian journey from Gwent Isaf towards the western coast of Ceredigion, was accompanied from Abergavenny by Brian de Wallingford, lord marcher of that district, and his numerous men-at-arms. This escort unwillingly turned back from the Grwnwy Fawr, and Richard, too confident of safety, and relying too much upon the fear infused by his name, had entered into the glades of the forest since called Coed

[1] Gesta Stephani.

[2] Gesta Stephani; Florence of Worcester, Cont. i. A.D. 1136; Annales Cambriæ, 1136; Brut y Tywysogion, 1135.

[3] Giraldus, Itin. i. c. iv.; Hoare's Annotations, vol. ii. pp. 83–97; Gesta Stephani.

CHAP. XVI.

Dias, preceded by a minstrel, whose instrument and voice alternately or conjointly enlivened the way, when the troops of Morgan of Caerleon, lying in ambush there under the command of that chieftain's brother Iorwerth, sprang suddenly upon him from the thickets, and slew the earl with many of his retainers. This heinous deed is said to have been committed in revenge for injuries inflicted by the Earl upon Morgan of Caerleon.

Baldwin Fitz Gilbert, the brother of Earl Richard, led 500 well accoutred men to Brecknock Castle, intending to put down the revolt, but hearing there that the Welsh forces were advancing to encounter him, he summoned a council which advised retreat, and he accordingly withdrew in panic from the country.

The widow of Earl Richard was soon afterwards besieged by the Cymry in the strong castle of Pembroke, and provisions failing, her position had become perilous, when Milo de Gloucester, the lord constable, advanced secretly across mountain passes and through forests to the rescue, and suddenly attacking the besiegers, bore away the Lady de Clare to a place of safety.

While the district chiefs of Dyfed and Ceredigion were ravaging the extensive Welsh territories of the slain earl, Gruffydd ab Rhys hastened into Gwynedd to incite Gruffydd ab Cynan to take a part in the Cymric rising.

During the absence of Gruffydd ab Rhys, Gwenllian[1] his wife, believing that a favourable occasion had presented itself for an inroad upon the Normans of Cydweli, marched thither with her sons, Morgan and Maelgwn, at the head of all the forces which she could collect. Her foes, however, stood prepared for an attack. She

[1] Giraldus, Itin. book i. c. ix.

was met by Maurice de Londres and his men-at-arms and allies, defeated and taken prisoner, together with Maelgwn and many of her followers. Morgan was slain in the fight, and, to the disgrace of Norman chivalry, the princess was beheaded by her captor.

These terrible events gave resistless power to the eloquence of Gruffydd ab Rhys, and the King of Gwynedd, impelled at once by the desire of national independence and of vengeance for his daughter's blood, sent forth his sons[1] Owen and Cadwaladyr, at the head of a formidable army, to aid the Cymry of Ceredigion. Acting there in concert with the local chieftains, the Princes of Gwynedd successively attacked and destroyed five strong castles, among them being those of Aberystwyth, Dinerth, and Caerwedros; then having carried fire and sword throughout the Norman and Flemish settlements, they returned in triumph to their homes.

Early in the following October, Gruffydd ab Rhys opened another campaign. Howel ab Maredudd of Brycheiniog, Rhys ab Madog ab Ednerth, and other chieftains who had fought bravely for their country in the spring, again joined the national standard, and Owen and Cadwaladyr again led the forces of Gwynedd to the aid of their brother-in-law. The combined forces, amounting to 6000 foot and 2000 horsemen, marched through the ancient kingdom of Deheubarth, driving out the foreign settlers, and re-instating the Cymric population, until they reached Aberteifi, where, within the town and castle, multitudes of fugitive women appear to have taken refuge from the insurgent Cymry. To protect them, and, if possible, to crush the insurrection at a blow, the martial veterans of the Norman, Flemish, and English settlements of Deheubarth

[1] Annales Cambriæ, 1137; Brut y Tywysogion, 1136.

CHAP. XVI.

and its Marches, now stood arrayed with their several leaders under the command of Stephen, constable of Aberteifi, the husband of Gerald de Windsor's widow, the beautiful Nest. The foreigners had greatly the advantage in numbers, equipments, and position; nevertheless, in the bloody and obstinate battle which ensued, they were worsted. Three thousand of these interlopers fell in the conflict, more than twice that number perished in their retreat, either by drowning or the weapons of the Cymry, and vast numbers more were taken prisoners; but the remnants of the foreign host, though hotly pursued, effected their escape to the fortresses which still held out for them. After this extraordinary success, the national forces dispersed, and the Princes of Gwynedd bore away to their homes, stately horses, rich armour, and other valuable spoils.

Gruffydd ab Rhys celebrated his restoration to the provincial throne of Deheubarth by holding a festival[1] of forty days' continuance at Ystrad Towy, to which he invited every Cymro who chose to come. The aged King of Gwynedd and several of his sons attended it, and knightly exercises, athletic games, and dramatic[2] representations, besides musical and poetical contests, are enumerated among the entertainments of the guests. Gruffydd ab Rhys employed the short remainder of his life in re-establishing law and social order throughout his dominions. It is to be inferred from the Worcester Chronicle,[3] that he married a second time, for it is

[1] Stephens, Literature of the Cymry, p. 338, quoting Myf. Arch. vol. ii. p. 558.

[2] Selections from the Iolo MSS. published by the W. MSS. Society; Hud a Lledrith; Stephens, Literature of the Cymry, pp. 79–93; Warton's History of English Poetry, vol. iii. § 34; Hallam's Literature of Europe, vol. i. part i. c. iii. § 104, 105.

[3] Cont. i. A.D. 1137.

distinctly asserted there, that he perished by the artifices of his wife. His death was deeply mourned by his people,[1] for he was a brave and successful warrior, a generous prince, and had ever at heart the liberty and prosperity of his country.

He left behind him several sons, who in the order of seniority assumed the sovereignty of Dinefawr.

Towards the close of the same year 1137, Gruffydd ab Cynan, king of Gwynedd, closed his long life and reign. Meilyr,[2] the bard of Aberfraw, who had lamented in recurrent rhymes the defeat and death of King Trahaern ab Caradog, composed, fifty-seven years afterwards, a marwnad of far superior worth upon the death of Gruffydd ab Cynan.

[1] Annales Cambriæ, 1137; Brut y Tywysogion, 1136.

[2] Literary Remains of the Rev. Thomas Price, vol. i. pp. 191, 192; Stephens, Literature of the Cymry, pp. 19-21.

CHAPTER XVII.

THE CYMRY AND THE NORMANS.

FROM THE ACCESSION OF OWEN GWYNEDD TO HIS DEATH, A.D. 1137-1169.

> But what most showed the vanity of life
> Was to behold the nations all on fire,
> In cruel broils engaged and deadly strife.
> THOMSON: *Castle of Indolence*, canto i. stanza lv.

CHAP. XVII.

§ 1. A.D. 1137. KING GRUFFYDD AB CYNAN left many surviving sons, who severally inherited certain portions of his territories. Owen, the eldest, succeeded him in the provincial sovereignty of Gwynedd, and in the hereditary claim to paramount dominion over Powys and Deheubarth. From the date of his accession, however, the native chroniclers cease to apply the term Brenhin to their kings, and substitute the term Twywysog; and district sovereigns, thenceforth, they usually style Arglwydd, after the manner of the Normans, although the English and Norman chroniclers continue to apply the word regulus to every Welsh sovereign.

The changes in the ownership of land, which took place throughout every family at the decease of each proprietor, have rendered it almost impossible to ascertain which territories were held in successive reigns by the brothers and sons of late and then present sovereigns, and the Norman usurpations and lands regained from foreign foes, or won from each other by the native

princes, tend to complicate the difficulty still more. Nevertheless, attention to the incidental mention made of cantref and cwmwd will often enable the careful student to catch at least a fragmentary clue to the localities and boundaries of family properties in successive ages.

§ 2. Acting in concert[1] with the discontented Saxons of England and with the Scots, and eager to extirpate the Flemish colonies, and to complete the avenging task by means of which he hoped to work out the national independence of Cymru, Owen, with his brother Cadwaladyr, led the men of Gwynedd into Ceredigion, and destroyed the castle of Ystrad Meurig. Passing southward thence, and being joined by Cadell, Rhys, and Anarawd, the sons of Gruffydd ab Rhys, they together won and destroyed the castles of Humphrey and Llanstephan, and burned the town of Caerfyrddin. The six weeks of martial service having then expired, Owen returned home with his troops. The Flemings were completely subdued by this expedition, and Payne Fitzjohn, a celebrated Norman knight, lost his life, being shot through the head with an arrow in a skirmish with the Welsh.

While these events were passing, the Cymry with one accord expelled[2] the intrusive foreigners from the bishoprics and other ecclesiastical offices of their church. Ranulph, earl of Chester, attempted to check the insurrection by invading Gwynedd, but falling into an ambush his troops were slain or scattered, and he was scarcely able to effect his personal escape with five

[1] Gesta Stephani; Florence of Worcester, Cont. i.; William of Malmesbury, book ii. A.D. 1139; Ordericus Vitalis; Roger of Wendover; Henry of Huntingdon; Annales Cambriæ, A. 1137; Brut y Tywysogion, A. 1136.

[2] Gesta Stephani.

CHAP. XVII.

retainers. He and the other lords marchers adopted afterwards efficacious means of thinning the ranks of the national armies by enlisting all the Welshmen on their lands, and all other Welshmen whom they could entice, to follow their banners into England as mercenary allies in the cause of the Empress Maud against King Stephen.

Another leader of Welsh mercenaries at this time was Geoffrey de Talbot, and yet another was Robert Fitzroy, earl of Gloucester, so that Gwynedd, Powys, and Deheubarth appear to have sent forth their troops in provincial bands. On June 15, 1138, when King Stephen and his army departed from Hereford, all that remained standing of that city from a previous fire was burned by Geoffrey de Talbot, without loss of life to the defenders, and with the loss of only seven or eight of the Welsh assailants.

§ 3. At Worcester, in December 1139, Maurice, a clerk of eminent piety, was presented to King Stephen by the Bishops of Hereford and Chichester, who attested his election by the clergy and people to the see of Bangor, and his fitness for the office of bishop; and upon receiving an oath of fealty from Maurice, the king confirmed the appointment. This Bishop of Bangor, and Uchtryd, who had been appointed to the see of Llandaff, were consecrated soon afterwards by Theobald, archbishop of Canterbury.

§ 4. At this time the most powerful native prince in Powys was Madog ab Maredudd ab Gruffydd ab Cynfyn, and all that remained of the provincial sovereignty of Deheubarth was possessed by Rhys ab Gruffydd ab Rhys and his brothers.

In 1140, Cynric,[1] one of Owen Gwynedd's sons, was

[1] Annales Cambriæ, 1140; Brut y Tywysogion, 1138.

slain in a skirmish by the men of Madog ab Maredudd, prince of Powys; and the fact not only indicates the existence of unfriendly feelings between the rulers of those provinces, but also insures the continuance of them.

On February 23, 1141, the Welsh allies of the Empress Matilda,[1] though poorly armed yet full of courage, and led by Maredudd and Cadwaladyr ab Gruffydd ab Cynan, greatly contributed to the defeat and capture of King Stephen at the hard fought battle of Lincoln.

When the Empress Matilda was solemnly received and conducted in procession into Winchester Cathedral by King Stephen's brother Henry, bishop of that see and papal legate, she had as her supporter on one side that powerful prelate, and on the other Bernard, bishop of St. David's, the Bishops of Lincoln, Hereford, Ely, and Bath, and numerous abbots attending.

A.D. 1142.

The most remarkable incident of this troubled year in Wales is the personal quarrel between Cadwaladyr ab Gruffydd ab Cynan and Anarawd ab Gruffydd ab Rhys,[2] who had married Cadwaladyr's daughter. Angry words led to the use of weapons, and Anarawd, who is styled by the chronicler 'the hope and stay of South Wales,' fell dead in this single combat, slain by the hand of his father-in-law. Being threatened with punishment for this heinous deed by his brother Owen Gwynedd, Cadwaladyr fled to Ireland, and hired two bands of Irish and Scottish mercenaries.

Owen Gwynedd and his son Howel had ravaged the

[1] Henry of Huntingdon.

[2] Powel's Historie of Cambria, ed. 1584, pp. 106, 107. The story is differently told in the Brut y Tywysogion, A. 1142. The Annales, A.D. 1143, simply state that Anarawd was slain by Cadwaladyr's domestics.

CHAP. XVII.

lands of Cadwaladyr, burned Aberystwyth Castle, which belonged to him, and returned home to Aberfraw, when Cadwaladyr and his forces landed at Abermenai in Arfon. The army of Owen stood prepared to oppose them, when peaceful proposals prevented fratricidal war; but the mercenary troops, afraid of losing their stipulated pay, detained Cadwaladyr among them as a prisoner until he had resigned to them the prisoners and spoils already taken, and had caused 2000 head of cattle to be brought to their camp.

Owen Gwynedd restrained his indignation until his brother was set free, and then without mercy he attacked the invaders, slew the greater number of them, drove the rest to their ships, and rescued the captives, spoils, and cattle.

Meanwhile, the Normans were gradually regaining their [1]Welsh possessions, sometimes insidiously, sometimes with merely an exhibition of military power, and sometimes by absolute force of arms. Hugh de Mortimer, the second baron of that name, came with numerous troops into South Wales, fortified the castle of Cymaron, and won the cantref of Meleinydd, from whence he made hostile excursions upon his Cymric neighbours, and in various skirmishes slew several of the native princes of Powys, and imprisoned other local chiefs. He also obtained possession of the castle of Colwnwy, and by that means brought the cantref of Elfel into subjection.

In 1144, Howel and Cynan, two of Owen Gwynedd's warlike sons, alarmed at the return of the Normans and Flemings into Ceredigion, and fearing the loss of Aberteifi, which had rewarded the interference of their

[1] Annales Cambriæ; Brut y Tywysogion; Leland, Antiq. Brit. Collect. ed. 1774, t. ii. p. 415, from Thomas Wike's Annals.

family in the affairs of Deheubarth led an army to relieve the beleaguered castle, encountered the invaders, gave them a signal overthrow, garrisoned the town, and returned triumphantly to their home.

Within the same year, young Gilbert, fourth Earl de Clare, having resolved to retrieve his Welsh inheritance, entered Dyfed in warlike strength. He rebuilt the castles of Caerfyrddin and Uchtryd, and having thus secured standing-room, proceeded quietly to regain many other fortresses, until the chief part of the territories, both in Ceredigion and Dyfed, of which his parents had been dispossessed, including royal Dinefawr, fell under his power. Contenting himself with this success, he garrisoned all the strongholds, and left the country to the care of his feudatories.

The sons[1] of Gruffydd ab Rhys then arose with renewed vigour to make fresh efforts for national emancipation. Cadell the eldest obtained possession of Dinefawr, and in conjunction with his brothers Maredudd and Rhys advanced boldly to besiege Caermarthen Castle, which was yielded up to them on condition that the lives of the garrison should be spared. In advancing towards the neighbouring castle of Llanstephan, the princes were encountered by a strong body of Norman and Flemish troops, whom they worsted in the field, and afterwards won the castle, of which Maredudd was left in charge, while Rhys and Cadell marched forward. William de la Hay and the sons of Gerald de Windsor then collected all their forces, and suddenly attacked and invested the castle of Llanstephan. Maredudd, though surprised, was not unprepared, being a man of great courage and sagacity. He

[1] Annales Cambriæ; Brut y Tywysogion; Powel's Historie of Cambria.

CHAP. XVII.

suffered the assailants to fix and to ascend their scaling ladders, then instantly giving the word of command to his men, they applied levers, and overturned the ladders with their living freight, and in the confusion and distress which ensued, sallied forth, took many prisoners, and put the rest of the foes to flight.

Soon after the occurrence of these events in South Wales, Owen Gwynedd lost by death a darling son named Rhun, and being interrupted in the solitary indulgence of his grief by information of the ravages committed by the Norman garrison of Yr Wyddgrûg (Mold), he sent his men to besiege that castle, and finally went in person; and, notwithstanding the strength of the fortifications and the valour of its defenders, took it by assault, slew many of the garrison, made prisoners of the rest, and levelled the walls with the ground. His exultation at this achievement was so great that it dispelled his melancholy, and enabled him to resume his former habits of life.

In 1145, the sons of Gruffydd ab Rhys led their forces against the Norman castle of Gwys in the cantref of Cemaes, and finding themselves unable to take it, sent messengers to entreat their cousin Howel ab Owen Gwynedd to come to their assistance. His reputation stood high in the council chamber and in the battle-field, as well as in the peaceful contests of the bards and the favour of the fair, and the alacrity of his ambitious spirit rendered him ever ready for any form of chivalrous enterprize. Eager therefore to attain fresh fame, he assembled his adherents, joined the besieging forces, and carefully surveyed the fortress. Having thus ascertained what means were best adapted to insure success, he caused several engines to be constructed, some for battering the walls, others for casting

up large stones, and others again, for the annoyance of the garrison in various ways. These ingenious preparations happily prevented bloodshedding, for they extinguished the hopes of the defenders, who surrendered without waiting to experience the effects of their application.

A.D. 1146. Howel had not long returned to his home when he and his brother Cynan made open war upon their uncle Cadwaladyr, invaded Meirionydd, his district sovereignty, obtained the submission of the inhabitants, and laid siege to the castle of Cynfael, which was gallantly held for Cadwaladyr by Merfyn, the martial abbot of Ty Gwyn, who answered the menacing summons to surrender with words of bold defiance. Proffers of favour and reward found no better reception, for the abbot had promised to hold the castle, and chose rather to die than to break his word. Offended and infuriated by this opposition, the princes made a violent assault, won the castle, and put the garrison to the sword; but some of the assailants connived at, and probably contrived, the preservation and escape of the loyal abbot.

§ 5. Bernard, having achieved a partial success in his contest with the Bishop of Llandaff, and finding that he could not obtain promotion in the English Church, scrupled not to re-assert the independence [1] of the diocese of St. David's and his own rights as metropolitan and primate of the Welsh Church. He assumed the title of archbishop, caused the cross to be carried in state before him, and entered upon a suit in the Roman court, disclaiming the ecclesiastical juris-

[1] Giraldus, Itin. book ii. c. i.

CHAP. XVII.

diction of Canterbury over the Welsh sees; but he died in 1147,[1] before the cause was heard.

David Fitzgerald, archdeacon of Caerdigan, a Welshman by birth, whose father was Gerald de Windsor, whose mother was Nest, was consecrated bishop of St. David's, December 19, 1147, and entered upon his office with more facilities for its impartial and peaceable fulfilment than almost any other man of that generation could have possessed.

§ 6. In the year 1149, Owen[2] Gwynedd built a castle in the cwmwd of Iâl in Powys, with the intention of strengthening his eastern frontier against the Earl of Chester.

About the same time, Cadwaladyr, Owen's brother, built a castle at Llanrhystyd in the cantref of Syrwen, with the intention of protecting the lands which he had acquired by war in Ceredigion, and had given to his son Cadwgan.

Madog ab Maredudd ab Bleddyn, prince of Powys, soon afterwards built a castle at Croes Oswalt (Oswestry) and bestowed his share of Cyfeiliog upon Owen and Meurig, the sons of his brother Gruffydd.

In 1150, Owen Gwynedd imprisoned his son Cynan for some unrecorded offence; and Howel completed the conquest of his uncle Cadwaladyr's territories and deprived him also of liberty.

At this period the Princes of Deheubarth engaged anew in a series of hostilities against the foreign settlers. Cadell commenced by fortifying the castle of Caermarthen, issued thence upon a marauding expedition to Cydweli, and returning laden with spoils, deposited

[1] Nicolas, Synopsis, vol. ii. p. 839; Annales Cambriæ, A.D. 1150; Brut y Tywysogion, A.D. 1147.

[2] Annales Cambriæ, 1151; Brut y Tywysogion, 1148.

them under the shelter of his stronghold, and then joined his forces with those of his brothers, and entering Ceredigion conquered Aeron.

Owen Gwynedd had vainly attempted to reassert the privileges of Brenhin Cymru Oll, and Madog ab Maredudd, prince of Powys, sternly refusing to acknowledge his supremacy, took advantage of a quarrel which occurred between Owen and Ranulph, earl of Chester, to join the Norman forces and their mercenary auxiliaries in an invasion of Gwynedd. Although Owen's troops were far inferior, both in numbers and equipments, to those of his enemies, he advanced to meet them at Counsyllt, and boldly offered them battle. Confident of success, the Earl of Chester and the Prince of Powys entered upon the conflict, but the courage and skill of Owen and of his sons made ample amends for all other disadvantages; the invaders gave way, took to flight, and were so hotly pursued, that few of them escaped from death or captivity, and the leaders owed their safety to the fleetness of their horses.

While Howel was assisting his father to defend Gwynedd, that part of Ceredigion which he had wrested from his uncle Cadwaladyr and his cousin Cadwgan was seized upon by his South Welsh kinsmen Cadell, Rhys, and Maredudd; who, although they lost many of their men before Llanrhysted, succeeded in taking that castle, and also the stronger one of Ystrad Meurig, and in expelling Howel's forces from every fortress in Ceredigion, excepting only the castle of Llanfihangel in Pengwern. A.D. 1150.

Cadell, the ablest warrior of the sons of Gruffydd ab Rhys, delighted greatly in the recreation of hunting, and soon after his return from Ceredigion he had one day just ordered his hounds to be uncoupled, and was

CHAP. XVII.

pursuing a stag with headlong eagerness, when the Flemish settlers of Dinbych y Pyscoed, perceiving that his attendants were few and unarmed, laid an ambush and fiercely attacked him. Cadell fought his way out of their hands and escaped to his home, but so grievously wounded that he lay for a long time at the point of death, and never again cheered a hound or drew a sword.

To avenge this injury, Rhys and Maredudd assembled their forces; carried fire and sword throughout Gwyr; assailed, took, and razed to the ground the castle of Aberllwchwr, and returned home laden with spoils so rich that they immediately used them in rebuilding the palatial castle of Dinefawr.

While they were thus occupied, Howel found leisure to fortify Humphrey Castle in the vale of Caletwr, and to regain Penwedig. In the year 1151, Owen Gwynedd caused Cunedda, the son of his deceased brother, Cadwallawn, to be blinded and mutilated, with the intention of quenching his pretensions to property. Probably the dread of a similar doom induced Cadwaladyr at this time to break out of prison, and to seek refuge among his numerous and powerful friends in Mona. Owen's troops, however, drove him thence, and Cadwaladyr fled to England and solicited aid from the family connections of his wife Alice, who was a daughter of the House of Clare.

§ 7. The regular succession of the Bishops of St. Asaph has not been recorded, but it appears that, on the death of Gilbert, Geoffrey [1] of Monmouth was appointed to that see, and consecrated February 24, 1152. His 'Historia Britonum' has proved a vast storehouse of romantic fiction, and from that part of it which

[1] Nicolas, Synopsis, vol. ii. p. 822; Roger of Wendover, A.D. 1151.

mentions the Saxon Conquest may possibly be sifted out some valuable facts. Caradog of Llancarfan,[1] the chronicler, was his contemporary, and about this time the ancient and fabulous traditions of much earlier times were wrought up into the Mabinogion.[2] Various Lives of Saints belong also to the twelfth century, besides a treatise on Music, one on Grammar, and one on Medicine. The latter embodies the practical experience of Rhiwallon of Myddfai,[3] physician to Prince Rhys ab Gruffydd, and of that physician's three sons, Cadwgan, Gruffydd, and Einion, whose descendants continued to practise the healing art uninterruptedly until the eighteenth century. The Llyfr Du of Caermarthen is extant in a manuscript of the twelfth century.

§ 8. Rhys and Maredudd[4] exerted themselves at this time to wrest from Howel the ground he had regained in Ceredigion, and with much difficulty they won possession of the castle of Penwedig. A.D. 1152.

From fighting against the intrusive men of Gwynedd they marched against the Flemings of Dinbych y Pyscoed, scaled the castle walls in the night, and gave the first intimation of their presence by taking possession of the fortress and slaughtering the garrison; thus exacting further vengeance for Cadell's sufferings.

The Princes of Deheubarth then divided their forces; Rhys went forth to devastate and plunder Ystrad Congen and Cyfeiliog; Maredudd laid siege to Morgan ab Caradog ab Iestyn's castle at Aberafon in Morganwg,

[1] Williams, Enwogion Cymru; Preface to the Brut y Tywysogion, ed. 1860; Literary Remains of the Rev. Thomas Price, vol. i. pp. 205, 206; Stephens, Literature of the Cymry, c. ii. § v. pp. 307–331.

[2] Translated and published by Lady Charlotte Guest.

[3] Published by the Welsh MSS. Society with a Translation by Ab Ithel.

[4] Annales Cambriæ; Brut y Tywysogion; Powel's Historie of Cambria.

CHAP. XVII.

won it, and enriched himself with its spoils. In 1153, Ranulph, earl of Chester, died, and was succeeded by his son Hugh.

On October 25, 1154,[1] the death of King Stephen terminated his nominal reign, a period of strife and tumult, which broke all England up into a state of social anarchy, and set the fierce passions, gross vices, and superstitious notions of the age in violent action. Henry the Second, the son of the Empress Matilda, then ascended the throne of the Conqueror.

In 1155,[2] Maredudd ab Gruffydd died, and Rhys, alarmed by a rumour that Owen Gwynedd was coming to invade his territories, raised an army and marched boldly through Ceredigion to Aberdyfi in Meirionydd, where finding no foes, he strengthened the fortifications of the town and built a castle, and then returned to his home at Dinefawr. This expedition of the southern sovereign, and the hostile attitude of Gwynedd towards Powys, caused Madog ab Maredudd, who kept up his friendly relations with the Earl of Chester, to build a castle for the defence of Eineon, in addition to one which he already had at Cymer; and about the same time Madog erected a new church at Meifod, which he dedicated to St. Mary. It was probably the earliest instance of an ecclesiastical edifice dedicated to the Virgin by a Welshman.

King Stephen had had many Flemings from Brabant in his service, and King Henry II.,[3] wishing to get rid of them, and to strengthen his hold upon Welsh soil, sent a great number of these soldiers to join the sword-

[1] Roger of Wendover.

[2] Annales Cambriæ, A.D. 1156; Brut y Tywysogion, 1154; Powel's Historie of Cambria, 1153.

[3] Powel's Historie of Cambria, p. 205; Wynne's History of Wales, p. 173; Fenton's History of Pembrokeshire.

stricken colonies of their fellow-countrymen in Dyfed. The manufacture of woollen cloth, both in Wales and in England, is said to have been greatly improved by the skill of these Flemish colonists. CHAP. XVII.

§ 9. Cadwaladyr,[1] the brother of Owen Gwynedd, backed by his wife's kinsmen the De Clares, ceased not meanwhile to importune King Henry to re-assert the paramount claims of the English monarchy, and to restore to him and to the De Clares those possessions in Wales which would enable them to become effectual supporters of his regal interests there. Hugh, earl of Chester, and the warden of the Marches, added force to Cadwaladyr's arguments by complaining of infringements made upon their feudal territories by Owen Gwynedd and his martial sons; and Madog, prince of Powys, offered homage and active assistance on condition of being delivered from subjection to the sovereign of Gwynedd, and supported against his aggressions. King Henry acknowledged the cogency of such arguments, and resolving to conquer North Wales, levied from all parts of England a large and well equipped army, with which he set forth from Chester, and encamped on Saltney Marsh; while a fleet, which he had also provided and placed under the guidance and direction of Madog, prince of Powys, skirted the coast of Gwynedd, acting in concert with the land forces. A.D. 1157.

Owen constantly kept up friendly communications with the King of Scotland, but in this contingency could derive no advantage from so distant an ally. Deheubarth gave him no help, Powys was in arms against him; nevertheless, he boldly took the field at the head

[1] Annales Cambriæ, A.D. 1158; Brut y Tywysogion, A.D. 1156; Roger of Wendover, A.D. 1157; Wynne's History of Wales, pp. 173-175; Powel's Historie of Cambria, A.D. 1157.

CHAP. XVII.

of the men of Gwynedd, and pitched his camp at Basingwerk, in the cwmwd of Treffynon. The English monarch, surprised at this proof of Cymric intrepidity, supposed Owen to be rash and self-confident enough to risk a set battle. He therefore selected the choicest of his troops, and sent them forward to attack him. This division of the English army, led by distinguished nobles and knights, full of ardour and disdaining caution, was passing through a declivitous glade of Coed Eulo, expecting to find beyond it their entrenched foes, when suddenly the squadrons of cavalry and companies of infantry felt on all sides the fierce and fell attack of ambushed Cymry, who, under the command of Dafydd and Cynan ab Owen Gwynedd, mowed, speared, and shot them down, slaughtering great numbers, and pursuing the few who escaped even to the outposts of the camp at Saltney Marsh (Morfa Caer Leon).

Grievously annoyed by this discomfiture, King Henry struck his tents, and led his host along the south-western shore of the estuary of the Dee, intending to evade Owen's vigilant little army, and to penetrate the country before his adversary could return to defend it. Owen, however, knew the ground, and anticipated the intention of the invaders, who, marching in fancied security along the steep wild passes of the woods of Counsyllt, were suddenly struck with panic at finding themselves intercepted in front, and impetuously attacked on the right and left by Cymric foes. Fettered and hampered by their heavy armour, and encumbered with the weight of unavailing weapons, the vanguard of the monarch turned back and fled before Owen and the men of Gwynedd, leaving many nobles and knights dead or dying, bearing with them the king, and rushing in headlong confusion upon the still advancing

battalions. Struck with astonishment and terror, the host raised a cry that the king was slain, and Henry de Essex,[1] the great standard bearer, flung the royal ensign upon the earth in an agony of dismay, re-echoing the words, 'The king is slain!' The English host dissolved at that spell into a helpless crowd, and Owen would have slaughtered tens of thousands like sheep, if the personal courage of Henry had not saved them and himself from destruction. He rallied and brought back his troops, repelled the Cymric forces, and constrained them to retreat.

After this engagement, Owen left his headquarters at Basingwerk, and encamped at a place still called from him Cil Owen, near Llan Elwy, and thence watching the movements of the invaders, withdrew to a stronger position at Bryn y Pin. Without encountering further molestation, Henry and his army reached Rhuddlan, where he employed himself in strengthening the fortifications of the castle; while Owen's men, lying in wait for detached and foraging parties, engaged them in almost daily skirmishes, often hindering the progress of the works.

A young Cymro,[2] passing casually with his dog through a part of the wood of Counsyllt, was killed at this time by the suspicious and cruel soldiery, who left the corpse exposed to insects and the sun's heat, and to beasts and birds of prey during eight days; when, observing that the faithful dog had incessantly watched and guarded the remains of his master, and was nearly famished to death, they were touched with pity and

[1] Chronicles of Jocelin de Brakelond; Roger of Wendover, Bohn's ed. vol. i. pp. 537, 538; Gibson's Camden's Brit. ed. 1772, vol. ii. p. 71; Giraldus, Itin. book ii. c. x.

[2] Giraldus, Itin. book ii. c. x.

CHAP. XVII.

respect, and terminated the poor brute's vigil by burying their victim.

Meanwhile Madog, prince of Powys, conducted the English navy to Abermenai, and landed some battalions of men-at-arms, who plundered the neighbourhood and stripped two churches; but Owen and his sons came swiftly to the rescue, the inhabitants of the whole island joined his standard, and these forces not only overcame but annihilated the invaders at the battle of Tâl y Moelfré, otherwise called Tal y Foel. The conflict is described by Gwalchmai ab Meilyr, an eye-witness, in an ode which Grey has paraphrased under the title of 'The Triumphs of Owen.' Not a man survived to return to the ships, and the appalled mariners weighed anchor and steered back to Chester.

Architecture being the usual occupation of English armies in Wales, King Henry, during his sojourn, fortified the castles of Rhuddlan and Basingwerk,[1] and built a hospital for the Knights Templars. He also made grants to the Cistercian abbey founded by Ranulph, earl of Chester, at Basingwerk; and having by these means strengthened his hold upon the soil and its inhabitants, he deemed the time had come for entering into negotiations with the sovereign of Gwynedd. Owen had then the whole military power of England entrenched within his kingdom; Powys was his foe, and Iorwerth Goch ab Maredudd had burnt his castle at Iâl; his communications were cut off both by land and sea, and consequently he felt relieved by the offer of an honourable opportunity of ceasing from his single-handed struggle. It was agreed that he should deliver two of his sons to King Henry as hostages of good

[1] Leland, Collectanea, ed. 1774, tom. ii. Ran. Higden, p. 375; Arch. Camb. 1846, pp. 104, 105.

faith, that he should recognize the king's right to retain the castles and lands won in that campaign; and that he should restore to Cadwaladyr ab Gruffydd ab Cynan, his brother, the honours and possessions of which he had been deprived. Upon these terms peace was established, and the English army was withdrawn, having experienced a signal defeat and a heavy loss of men.

§ 10. In the year 1158,[1] Morgan ab Owen was treacherously slain by Ifor ab Meurig's men; and, among the faithful followers who fell with him, was Gwrgant ab Rhys, the most renowned Cymraeg bard of his time.

King Henry, after his return home, made peace with all the local rulers of Wales, exacting from them the restitution of all the lands which they had previously wrested from the Normans. Rhys ab Gruffydd alone, still zealous for national independence, entrenched a stronghold amid the forests of Ystrad Towy for the reception of his own and his people's cattle and treasure, and then bade defiance to the power of England.

King Henry, anxious to avoid another Welsh war, A.D. 1158. requested Rhys to come peaceably to his court, and not to wait until an army fetched him thither, promising to reward his prompt compliance by entering into arrangements likely to insure permanent advantages to Rhys and to his people. Rhys, having consulted his friends, took their advice, and went to the English court, delivered up two of his sons as hostages, and did homage to the king, who promised that henceforth Rhys should possess the entire Cantref Mawr, instead of the lands which he held intermingled with those of the monarch and of the lords marchers. Thi-

[1] Annales Cambriæ, A.D. 1159; Brut y Tywysogion, A.D. 1157.

CHAP XVII.

promise was not fulfilled, and Rhys found to his disappointment, that the lands left for him to occupy lay far apart, and were separated and encompassed by those of the invaders. This grievance was soon augmented by the active hostility of Roger de Clare, who marched with a strong force into Ceredigion, and took, fortified, and garrisoned the castles of Ystrad Meurig, of Humphrey, of Aberdyfi, of Dinerth, and of Llanrhysted; while Walter de Clifford, constable of Llanymddyfri, made an inroad upon the neighbouring lands of Prince Rhys, slew several of his men, and returned laden with plunder. Being thus injured and provoked, the prince sent a formal complaint to the king, who made a civil reply, but countenanced nevertheless the proceedings of his nobles. Rhys consequently resolved to redress his own wrongs and those of his people, and forthwith laid siege to the castle of Llanymddyfri, while his nephew, Einion ab Anarawd, impelled by the desire of delivering his countrymen from feudal slavery, attacked the castle of Humphrey in Ceredigion. Both these fortresses being won, Rhys mustered all his martial strength, and joining his nephew Einion, proceeded with him through Ceredigion, retaking the castles one by one, putting the foreign garrisons to the sword, and levelling the walls with the ground, until none remained to protect the colonists or to impede his re-conquest of the district. He followed up this success by a [1]campaign in Dyfed, where he likewise destroyed in succession all the Norman castles. He had invested the strong castle of Caermarthen, when Reynold Fitz-

A.D. 1159. Henry, Robert Consul's half-brother, having heard of this formidable insurrection, assembled an army at Bristol, and with the forces of De Clare and Welsh

[1] Annales Cambriæ, A.D. 1160; Brut y Tywysogion, A.D. 1158.

auxiliaries, led respectively by Cadwaladyr ab Gruffydd and Howel and Cynan ab Owen Gwynedd, hastened to the relief of that important fortress. Rhys received timely information of their approach, and speedily retreated to the mountainous region of Cefn Rested, while his enemies encamped at Dynwal Hir, built a castle there, and finally departed and dispersed their forces.

In the year 1160,[1] Madog ab Maredudd died at Winchester, and his body was conveyed to Meifod, the burying-place of his forefathers. His wife was a daughter of Gruffydd ab Cynan, and they had three sons, Gruffydd, Owen, and Elised, and a daughter named Mared. He also left three other sons, Owen, Cynric, and Eineon, who shared the paternal inheritance with their legitimate brethren. That inheritance comprised the part of Powys subsequently known as Powys Fadog; the remainder, being the property of Gruffydd ab Maredudd, Madog's brother, descended to Owen Cyfeiliog ab Gruffydd ab Maredudd, and was known in after days as Powys Gwenwynwyn. Although Madog had taken the part of King Henry against Gwynedd, he was beloved in his own province, and after his death Gwalchmai composed an ode to his memory, which shows the growing estimation of King Arthur among the bards, and their fervent expectation of the return of a Cynan and a Cadwaladyr to effect the deliverance and restoration of the Cymry. Perhaps they anticipated from Owen Cyfeiliog the realization of those typical predictions.

§ 11. Rhys had so strongly held his wild tract of forest and mountain, and so grievously harassed the foreign settlers in Deheubarth, that King Henry A.D. 1162.

[1] Powel's Historie of Cambria.

CHAP. XVII.

deemed his own presence to be necessary. He therefore led[1] an army, by way of Morganwg and Gwyr, into the district of Caerfyrddin, and he had penetrated as far as Penygader without encountering any foes, when he was met by Prince Rhys and other Cymric chiefs, who entered into negotiations for peace upon the same terms which had been agreed to formerly.

D. 1162. Rhys delivered up two of his nephews as hostages, and King Henry led his army homeward by way of Maeleinydd and Elfel.

On the first day of June in the same year, Rhys, prince of South Wales, with other district kings and nobles of that province, did homage at Woodstock[2] to King Henry and to his eldest son. Rhys was afterwards permitted to enter upon the possession of the Cantref Mawr, including that part of it which was the seat of the provincial sovereignty of Deheubarth, Dinefawr.

Eineon[3] ab Anarawd, the favourite nephew of Prince Rhys, came to an untimely end about this period, being murdered in his bed by a servant, at the alleged instigation of Roger de Clare.

Ever-existing rancour against the despoilers of his inheritance, the discomforts of a straitened income, and the necessity for larger means to sustain his regal rank, prepared the fervid spirit of Rhys to burst asunder all his English trammels at the news of this heinous deed. He mustered his forces and seized the castle of Aber Rheidol, and then, by the successive conquest of the other castles, gained possession once more of the whole district of Ceredigion. This being done, he

[1] Giraldus, Itin. book ii. c. x.; Annales Cambriæ, A.D. 1164; Brut y Tywysogion, A.D. 1162.

[2] Roger of Wendover, A.D. 1163.

[3] Annales Cambriæ, A.D. 1165; Brut y Tywysogion, A.D. 1162.

made ample provision for the household and hospitalities of Dinefawr by a series of predatory inroads upon the Norman and Flemish settlements of Dyfed.

Freebooting upon injurious intruders was deemed strictly lawful by the Cymry of the Middle Ages; and doubtless they censured severely the rapacity of the Teutons towards each other, of whom Sir John Fortescue[1] records, that 'If an Englishman be poor, and see another having riches which may be taken from him by might, he will not spare to do so.'

The attention of King Henry was absorbed, and his regal power enfeebled at this conjuncture by the presumptuous innovations of Thomas a' Becket, archbishop of Canterbury; and the brilliant success of Rhys produced an effect so encouraging, that the rulers of Gwynedd and of Powys entered into a confederacy with him and with each other, for the purpose of delivering the whole of Wales from the presence of foreigners, and from the domination of the King of England.

The stern, iron grasp of the Norman upon Welsh soil had already often proved frustrate by crushing it to mere illuding dust. The habitual tyranny of feudal rule, and the cruel aggravation of its galling pressure upon the necks of a nation haughty, sensitive, and writhing under the remembrance of inborn freedom, rendered the Welsh ever ready to revolt against their foreign conquerors.

In [2]intellectual development, in literary culture, and in social refinement, the Welsh, as a people, excelled their conquerors; and their grievous enslavement was

[1] Hallam's View of the State of Europe during the Middle Ages, ed. xi. 1855, vol. iii. p. 168.

[2] Thierry's Norman Conquest, Whittaker's ed. 1841, p. 155.

CHAP. XVII.

aggravated not merely by injury and insult, but also by a sense of degrading subjection to inferiors. Poetry, oratory, and music were the chief delights of the Cymry. They listened with ever-augmenting eagerness to bards who recited ancient poems recording the achievements of their forefathers and forebodings of national triumph, to which fond credulity attached the reverent character of prophecy. Those bards were not mere reciters of their predecessors' compositions; they were men of extraordinary knowledge and enthusiasm, and among them were many true poets and possessors of immortal genius. They had at full command a rich and copious language, which, like the calm waters of a magnificent lake, derived continual freshness from the stirring current of bright, living streams of thought and feeling.

At that period the Norman langue d'oyl and the Saxon language held aloof from each other the feudal lords and their English serfs; but all provincial jealousies and district factions subsided throughout Gwynedd, Powys, and Deheubarth, when words, familiar alike to kings, princes, nobles, and people, poured forth by the eloquent voices of native bards, filled the ears and the hearts of all with stories of ancestral deeds and exhortations to emulative glory. Love of home implied hatred of the strangers who defiled it. To be a hero was in bardic phrase to be a slayer of Lloegrians. It was a fashion among the bards of the period to profess peculiar admiration for one or other of their predecessors: thus Prince Howel ab Owen and other true poets affected to follow Merddyn as an example of correct composition, although far surpassing him in real merit; and this pretended imitation enabled them with greater facility to adopt, to enhance, and to pro-.

mulgate the sentiments and the expectations of their predecessors. Princes had too often proved faithless, but no instance can be found of a bard who betrayed his country; and now the whole impassioned force of national character, impelled by the poetic Owen, rushed in one direction; and the heroic forms, in dazzling indistinctness, of Arthur, Cadwaladyr, and Cynan, returning by magic, or miracle, or representative, appeared to incite their countrymen to the attainment of national independence.

David[1] ab Owen Gwynedd opened the campaign by devastating the Flintshire colonies and sweeping away with him all the settlers, their cattle, and goods to Ruthyn. Incensed at the news of this bold deed, King Henry aroused himself, levied an army in hot haste, and marched to Rhuddlan; there ascertaining the depth and unity of the Cymric insurrection, he reinforced the garrison, and after a stay of only three days returned to England, where he diligently applied himself to collecting the choicest troops of that kingdom together with those of Normandy, Anjou, Gascony, and Guienne, besides hiring mercenary auxiliaries from Brittany and Flanders. A.D. 1163.

Aware of these preparations, Owen Gwynedd with his sons, his brother Cadwaladyr, and all the military strength of North Wales, the Princes of Powys with their united forces, the sons of Madog ab Ednerth with the men of the territories lying between the rivers Severn and Wye, and Rhys ab Gruffydd with all the military strength of South Wales, assembled together at Corwen in Edeyrnion, resolved unanimously in heart and soul to assert their national freedom.

[1] Annales Cambriæ, A.D. 1166; Brut y Tywysogion, A.D. 1164; Powel's Historie of Cambria, A.D. 1165; Wynne's History of Wales; Giraldus, Itin. book ii. c. x. xii.

CHAP. XVII.

King Henry, bent upon effecting the utter extermination of the Cymric race, had marched meanwhile into Shropshire, and assembled at Croes Oswalt a host which he believed to be invincible. Nevertheless, he opened secret communications with his former friends the Princes of Powys, and strenuously endeavoured to detach them from the native confederacy. Finding them to be inflexibly attached to the cause of liberty, he remained for some time awaiting the movements of his foes, until weary at length of inaction, he commenced felling the thick woods, and moved his army onward. The pioneers at their head, protected by a guard of pikemen, had entered upon a glade still known as Adwyr Beddau (the Pass of the Graves), when a chosen party of Cymric volunteers rushed fiercely to encounter them, attempting to preserve the wood. Many brave men fell on both sides, and the skirmish ended in the celebrated battle of Crogen, through which the invaders forced their way with great loss to the ridge of the Berwyn mountains, where they formed an entrenched camp. As Henry crossed the bridge of the Ceiriog, an arrow from a Cymric bow must inevitably have pierced him if Hubert de Clare had not discerned its course, and instantly stepping forward received it in his own breast, giving his own life to save his master's.

Owen Cyfeiliog's spirited poem, called the Hîrlâs, has been supposed to commemorate the battle of Crogen. The confederated Britons and their invaders were now encamped within sight of each other, and King Henry hourly experienced the unremitting vigilance and activity of his light-armed adversaries, who cut off his supplies of provision, lay in wait for his foraging parties, skirmished with his troops at every advantageous opportunity, and availed themselves of their

local knowledge and mountaineering habits to the discouragement and gradual destruction of his host. Drenching rains rendered the turfy ground slippery and unsafe for unaccustomed feet; men, horses, and military stores had dwindled frightfully before his eyes; and, in the mood of a stricken tiger, he was compelled, by the dread of utter discomfiture, to effect an immediate and disastrous retreat, harassed beyond the English border by the deadly skirmishers of the Cymry.

In revenge for this disgraceful defeat, he caused the eyes of all the young Welsh princes, whom he held as hostages, to be torn out of their heads; and Owen Gwynedd with Rhys ab Tewdwr had each of them, in the midst of their triumphs, to bewail the life-long misery inflicted on two sons. King Henry led his forces to Chester, and assembled there a powerful fleet, as if intent upon attacking the Cymry again, but suddenly he changed his purpose, dismissed the ships, disbanded the army, and returned to other occupations.

Neither truce nor peace followed these martial efforts of King Henry, but it is evident that he soon resumed attempts at negotiation with the Princes of Powys, and that henceforth his policy towards Wales was more than ever conciliatory.

Before the invasion of Powys, Owen Gwynedd had opened a communication with [1] Louis VII. of France, proposing to form with him an offensive and defensive alliance against the King of England; and, after the repulse of that invasion, he made a renewed application to the Court of France to the same effect; and although the object aimed at was not attained, his ambassadors, together with those of William the Lion, of Scotland, were subsequently received by Louis, and obtained for

[1] Thierry's Norman Conquest, Whittaker's ed. 1841, p. 167.

CHAP. XVII.

Wales recognition as a European state apart from and independent of England.

The army of the confederates having parted into provincial battalions, Rhys ab Gruffydd[1] attacked the castle of Aberteifi, took it, and levelled it with the ground; but he permitted the garrison to depart, each man bearing with him half his goods, excepting only Robert Fitz Stephen the governor, a son of Nest's last marriage, whom Rhys detained as a close prisoner. Rhys then proceeded to take and to fortify the castle of Cilgerran, and afterwards returned home laden with rich spoils.

A.D. 1166. § 12. Some arrangements made at this date for the protection of the Marches encouraged the return of the Normans and other adventurers to Western Deheubarth, while the Flemings of Rhos ravaged Iscoed and Ceredigion, and made repeated but vain attempts to regain Cilgerran.

Owen Gwynedd had been deeply grieved by the death of his valiant and worthy son Llewelyn; but neither sorrow nor age diminished his activity, for, notwithstanding King Henry's precautions, he laid siege to the castle of Basingwerk, won it, and razed it to the ground;[2] and from that period a castle at Basingwerk is heard of no more.

Prompted by rapacity, Owen Cyfeiliog and his cousin, Owen Fychan ab Madog ab Maredudd, turned their arms against Iorwerth Goch of Mochnant, and forcibly divided his lands between them. This evil deed caused in the following year, 1167, a disastrous renewal of civil war. Owen Cyfeiliog and Owen

[1] Annales Cambriæ, A.D. 1164-1171; Brut y Tywysogion, A.D. 1165–1169; Powel's Historie of Cambria; Wynne's History of Wales.

[2] Pennant's Tours in Wales, ed. 1810, vol. i.

Fychan having quarrelled about the partition of Iorwerth's lands, Owen Gwynedd and Rhys Deheubarth interfered, brought their respective armies into Powys, drove out Owen Cyfeiliog, and took possession of his territories; *Rhys appropriating Walwern, because it lay within the boundary of his hereditary kingdom; and Owen Gwynedd retaining the rest, allowing Owen Fychan to hold Caereinion under him. This arrangement, so far as regarded Owen Fychan, was not of long duration, for Owen Cyfeiliog had established amicable relations with King Henry, and when driven from his home found no difficulty in hiring a band of Norman and English mercenaries, with whom he returned and won the castle of Caereinion, which he made their headquarters, and the source of a series of vigorous and successful expeditions for the recovery of his patrimony. The sovereign of South Wales was then in the North assisting Owen Gwynedd and Cadwaladyr ab Gruffydd ab Cynan in the difficult and tedious siege of King Henry's stronghold at Rhuddlan, which, though valiantly and skilfully defended during two months, fell at last into the hands of the assailants, who razed it to the ground. They next laid siege to the castle of Prestatyn near Llanelwy, which was also in possession of King Henry's troops, took it, destroyed it, and thus liberating the whole district of Tegeingl and restoring it to the kingdom of Gwynedd, returned well-pleased to their several homes. CHAP. XVII.

Rhys built a fortress at Abereinion, and made an inroad upon Brycheiniog, where he met with a repulse; but returning thither with a stronger force, he devastated the district, destroyed Buallt Castle, obliged the king's justiciary to assume an appearance of peaceful complacency, and marched back as a conqueror to Dinefawr. A.D. 1168.

CHAP. XVII.

At this time Cynan ab Owen Gwynedd sacrilegiously slew Urgenny, abbot of Llwythlawr, and Llawdden, the abbot's nephew. The deed shows the irreverent and reckless spirit which a religion of superstitious forms had exacerbated.

Within the same year, Robert Fitz Stephen obtained his release from captivity upon condition of resigning all his lands in Wales to Prince Rhys, and went to Ireland at the head of a band of adventurers to succour Dermot, the son of Murchat, in his wars.

The death of Owen Gwynedd is assigned by the 'Annales' to the year 1171, but all the other Welsh authorities place it in 1169. He was one of the most energetic sovereigns that ever held a sceptre, and one of the most valiant and successful warriors that ever drew a sword. His remains were buried in the cathedral church of Bangor, and he left behind him, out of his twenty children, three surviving daughters and fourteen sons.

Gwalchmai ab Meilyr, the Bardd Teulu of Owen, surpassed other bards in the fervour of his poetic genius as much as his sovereign excelled other warriors in chivalrous accomplishments. Gwalchmai used to accompany Owen in his expeditions and campaigns; and, besides the battle of Tal y Foel, he mentions in his poems the conflicts of Ceredigion, Maes Garnedd, Craig Gwydyr, Crogen, Rhuddlan, and others, and also the night watches kept while guarding the streams of the Breiddyn mountains.

CHAPTER XVIII.

THE CYMRY AND THE NORMANS.

FROM THE DEATH OF OWEN GWYNEDD TO THE ACCESSION OF LLEWELYN AB IORWERTH, A.D. 1169–1194.

. . . . If we tried
To sink the past beneath our feet, be sure
The future would not stand.
E. B. BROWNING: *Casa Guidi Windows.*

CHAP. XVIII.

§ 1. GWLADYS FERCH LLYWARCH AB TRAHAERN was the first wife of Owen Gwynedd, and Iorwerth, their only son, would have succeeded without opposition to the sovereignty of his father, if a broken nose had not marred his aspect, and rendered him, in the opinion of the people, unfit to reign. He therefore contented himself with a private station and a share of his father's property, and took up his residence in Castell Dolwyddelan. His wife was Marred, a daughter of Madog ab Maredudd, prince of Powys, and they had a son named Llewelyn, who was then a child. A.D. 1169.[1]

Howel, the second son of Owen Gwynedd, although his mother, Pyfog, was an Irishwoman, had gained for himself a reputation so brilliant as a statesman, a warrior, and a bard, that, without much difficulty, he

[1] Annales Cambriæ, A.D. 1172; Brut y Tywysogion, A.D. 1170; Powel's Historie of Cambria; Wynne's History of Wales; Roger of Wendover, A.D. 1171; Giraldus, Conquest of Ireland.

CHAP. XVIII.

obtained possession of the throne, and for two years he ruled the land in perfect peace.

A.D. 1171. The death of his maternal grandfather then summoned him to Ireland, and while he busied himself there in securing the heritage which had fallen to him, his half-brothers in Gwynedd broke out into fierce contention. Dafydd, the chief of them, being the eldest son of the marriage of Owen Gwynedd with Crisiant ferch Gronow ab Owen ab Cadwgan, seized with a strong hand upon the throne. Howel hastened back and joined the friends who had raised his standard; but the forces of Dafydd being far more numerous, gained the day at the battle of Pentraeth, and Howel received there a mortal wound.

Howel was the author[1] of several animated and graceful lyrics, of which eight have been preserved. The yellow florets of the furze, the sweet apple-blossoms, the laugh of his bright sister Llefen, fields robed in tender trefoil, the nightingale of the privet grove, the fair landscapes of his native Gwynedd, as well as the sleek majestic stag, the sports of the chase, and the task of honour in the rush of conflict, were among the delights of this chivalrous prince. In depicting his many ladyloves, he does not forget to avow his preference for a gentle maiden, fair as the spray of the ocean, beautiful in countenance, slender in form, arrayed in a green mantle, and gifted at once with keen native wit and with a sympathizing heart.

The memory of Howel ab Owen Gwynedd is enshrined not only in his own verses but in those of several contemporary bards. One of Peryf ab Cadifor's two poems bewails that prince's defeat and death, and relates the zealous acts of valour performed by Howel's

[1] Myv. Arch. vol. i.; Stephens, Literature of the Cymry, pp. 45-59.

foster brothers, the brothers of Peryf, in Howel's cause. It was usual[1] for the Cymric sovereigns to send each of their children to be brought up in the family of some attached nobleman, and the partiality of these families in after-life to the princes domesticated upon their hearths, generally caused the nobles to become, in case of controversy, the stedfast partizans of their respective charges; while the young princes, separated from each other in childhood and early youth, became too often estranged for ever from their brethren in blood.

Howel was buried at Bangor, together with several of the faithful foster-brethren, Cadifor's sons, who had died for him. Gwalchmai and Cynddelw have eulogized his name. The Cymry loved fame too dearly, and would sacrifice their lives to insure it, renown being most alluring to them in the form of bardic eulogy.

The death of Howel enabled Dafydd to retain possession of their father's throne; but dreading that every kinsman might become a rival, he set himself watchfully to avail himself of pretexts as they arose for expelling one by one his numerous brothers and cousins, seizing as he did so upon their patrimonial lands.

§ 2. King Henry had experienced the effect of England's open hostility in concentrating the strength and stimulating the patriotism of the Cymry, and had become thoroughly convinced of the impregnable nature of their country when defended by a united people. He therefore sagaciously persevered in a policy of conciliation, and soon found that the brave, haughty, and jealous princes, who were ever ready to resort to arms, were utterly incapable of resisting his civilities.

[1] Giraldus, Description of Wales, book ii. c. ix. last paragraph.

CHAP. XVIII.

The generous and royal heart of Rhys ab Gruffydd being thus beguiled by personal courtesies, he met the English monarch by appointment at Hereford, placed fourteen hostages in his hands, and supplied him with oxen and baggage horses for his Irish expedition.

A.D. 1171. King Henry marched on to Caerleon-upon-Usk, and doubting the attachment of its ruler, Iorwerth ab Owen ab Caradog, took possession of the place as English property. The monarch had no sooner departed thence than Iorwerth returned with all the forces he could muster, regained the town, but destroyed it in so doing, and made many unsuccessful attempts to retake the castle.

King Henry pursued his way to Penbroch, where Rhys ab Gruffydd again met him. He gave that prince his formal consent to retain the territories of Ceredigion, Ystrad Towy, Arwstlwi, and Elfel; and Rhys presented to him eighty-six horses, out of which Henry selected thirty-six of the best, and sent the others back with expressions of gratitude. The monarch visited St. David's[1] shrine, made an offering there, dined with the bishop, David Fitz Gerald, and afterwards returned to Penbroch, where he accepted Prince Rhys's hospitality at the Ty Gwyn, and restored to him his son Howel, who had long been detained as a hostage in England. While the preparations for King Henry's voyage were being made, the monarch went out one day for a little sport,[2] and seeing a noble falcon perched upon a crag, he passed round it and loosed the trained Norwegian hawk from his left fist. The falcon rose upon the wing, and though of slower flight than the hawk, soared aloft, and rushed down with such an impetuous swoop that

[1] Brut y Tywysogion, A.D. 1171. Giraldus, Itin. book ii. c i.
[2] Giraldus, Itin. book i. c. xii.

by a single blow he struck the hawk dead at his master's feet. The king never afterwards forgot to send yearly for falcons to replenish his mews from the sea-cliffs of Tenby.

As soon as his army was ready, he embarked for Ireland and landed there October 18, 1171. He spent the ensuing winter at Dublin, but a pestilence broke out among his soldiers, and so fearfully diminished their number, that it caused him in the following spring to return to Wales. Arriving on Easter day, he spent the A.D. 1172. latter part of it at Penbroch, and the next day again visited and made offerings at St. David's shrine. On the following Tuesday, when marching with his army, he met Prince Rhys, who had purposely come from Aberteifi bringing the promised tribute and hostages; and, after their delivery, the King of England and the Prince of Deheubarth parted upon terms of real amity.

Henry, desiring to make peaceable conquests, and to transform all his Welsh foes into subservient friends, sent messengers inviting Iorwerth of Caerleon to come and speak with him at Caerdiff, under the protection of a safe-conduct to that chief and to all his adherents. Iorwerth agreed to the proposal, and sent orders to his valiant son Owen to meet his cavalcade on the way, and accompany him into the monarch's presence. The young warrior set forth immediately, unarmed and with few attendants; but Henry Fitz Henry, called by the chroniclers Earl of Bristow, issuing forth from Newport Castle with his men-at-arms, treacherously waylaid and murdered him. Some of Owen's retinue escaped the intended massacre, and meeting Iorwerth in their flight, the bereaved father with his son Howel and all their followers returned back at once to Caerleon,

CHAP. XVIII.

and swore in deadly wrath that never from that hour would he trust the word either of a king of England or of any Englishman. In his fury he assembled all his kinsmen, dependants, friends, and partizans, and they celebrated the obsequies of his son by carrying fire and sword through all the foreign settlements in Gwent and its borders, even to the very gates of Gloucester and Hereford.

King Henry, troubled by these outrages, and anxious to restore peace and to maintain a policy of conciliation, persuaded Prince Rhys to accept the office of Justiciary of South Wales, an office from which the provincial king acquired among his countrymen the descriptive appellation of 'the Lord Rhys,' while he forfeited for himself and his posterity the dignity of independence, and the hereditary honours of a long line of ancestral sovereigns.

Probably it was in the exercise of his delegated functions that Rhys, about this time, found it necessary to march against Owen Cyfeiliog, and to take hostages for his peaceable behaviour.

It was believed by the chiefs of Gwent, that although King Henry bore towards them an appearance of forbearance and suavity, yet the bitterness of his natural temper had found vent in numerous cruel deeds perpetrated by his nobles, and more especially by Ranulph de la Poer, lord of Abergavenny. Seissyll ab Dyfnwal and Iefan ab Seissyll ab Riryd took advantage therefore of Ranulph's absence, and one morning, just as the guard was withdrawn, they won the castle by surprise, capturing the constable with his family and most of the soldiers.

While these events were passing, Iorwerth of Caerleon had gained possession of the royal castle there by

means of offering prisoners in exchange for it, and, with the exception of one fortress, Howel his son had subdued Gwent-Is-Coed.

A poem, addressed to Rhodri ab Owen Gwynedd by the celebrated bard Llywarch ab Llewelyn, contains an obvious allusion to a quarrel between Dafydd and Madog,[1] Rhodri's brothers, which resulted in the embarkation of the latter, who is termed 'the placid one,' on 'the bosom of the vast ocean in trouble great and immeasurable.' This bard appears to have been admitted to the intimate friendship and confidence of Madog, and to have been consequently held accountable for that prince's mysterious disappearance. One of Llywarch's poems, entitled 'To the Hot Iron,' was avowedly composed while undergoing that ordeal for the purpose of exonerating himself from the suspicion of having privately murdered Madog, and from all knowledge of what had become of that prince.

A Triad mentions as one of three missing ones of the island of Britain, Madog ab Owen Gwynedd, 'who went to sea with three hundred men in ten ships, and it is unknown whither they went.' These words contain all that is really known of this prince's naval explorations; and, on the bare fact of his departure, conjecture has founded the interesting hypothesis which represents him as the precursor of Columbus in the discovery of the Western Hemisphere.

King Henry and his son Henry being then at open war, Rhys sent to the assistance of the former a large A.D. 1174.

[1] Myv. Arch. vol. i.; Cambro-Briton, vol. i. pp. 45–50, and vol. iii. p. 137; Brut y Tywysogion, A.D. 1174; Powel's Historie of Cambria, pp. 227–229; Wynne's History of Wales, pp. 195–197; Price, Hanes Cymru; Woodward, History of Wales, part ii. pp. 326–334; Southey's Madoc, Poem, Preface, and Notes; Williams, Enwogion Cymru, pp. 309, 310.

CHAP. XVIII.

body of [1]light-armed Cymry, under the command of his son Howel, who had once been a hostage in England. They attended the king to Normandy, and served him so efficiently as light infantry, by cutting off the supplies of the French army then threatening his city of Rouen, that Louis was obliged to raise the siege, and the exploits of the auxiliaries so greatly impressed King Henry's mind, that he has left a record of them to posterity in a letter which he addressed to the Patriarch of Antioch.

A.D. 1175. Howel ab Iorwerth of Caerleon, without the knowledge of his father, got his father's brother Owen Pencarn into his hands, and cruelly maimed and blinded him. It would appear that Owen had provoked his nephew's wrath by favouring the foreign settlers, for his wrongs were speedily avenged by an overwhelming force of Normans and Flemings, who, notwithstanding the desperate resistance of Iorwerth and Howel, succeeded in wrenching from their grasp both the town and castle of Caerleon.

§ 3. Wales never had a stauncher champion, nor England a fiercer foe, than Dafydd ab Owen Gwynedd, nevertheless King Henry contrived to counteract that Cymro's innate aversion, and to win him for a life-long friend, by bestowing upon him his fair sister Emma as a wife, and restoring the district of Ellesmere as her dower.

Dafydd immediately testified his newly awakened good-will by sending a strong body of forces to fight for his brother-in-law in Normandy, and from that period Norman manners prevailed at Aberfraw, and Norman laws found occasional use and favour in the realm of Gwynedd.

[1] Roger of Hovedon.

On June 29, in the same year, Rhys, the native sovereign, and King Henry's justiciary for South Wales, attended the court of that monarch at Gloucester[1] bringing with him, by the exercise of his influence and authority, all the district sovereigns (*reguli*) of his province to make peace and to do homage. Among them came Cadwallawn ab Madog of Maeleinydd, Eineon Glyd of Elfel, Eineon ab Rhys of Gwarthrynion, Morgan ab Caradog ab Iestyn of Morganwg, Gruffydd ab Ifor ab Meurig of Senghenydd, Seissyll ab Dyfnwal of Gwent Uchaf, and even the injured Iorwerth of Caerleon, who was persuaded to come by a promise that his ancestral city should be restored to him.

On this occasion, Seissyll ab Dyfnwal gave up Abergavenny Castle, and King Henry consigned it to the care of William de Breos, lord of Brycheiniog, a rapacious and ruthless man, who regarded that acquisition merely as a turf entitling him to possess himself of the whole territory of Gwent, without respect to the claims of the native proprietors.

§ 4. Much information concerning the history of Wales at this period is contained in the writings of[2] Gerald de Barri, fourth son of the Baron William de Barri and of Angharad, a daughter of Gerald de Windsor and of the celebrated Nest, and niece of Gruffydd ab Rhys, prince of South Wales. Gerald de Barri, better known as Giraldus Cambrensis, was born about the year 1146, at the castle of Manorbyr, and brought up by his maternal uncle David Fitzgerald, bishop of St. David's. He studied for three years at the University of Paris, and took holy orders about the year 1172.

[1] Brut y Tywysogion, A.D. 1175; Powel's Historie of Cambria; Wynne's History of Wales.

[2] Hoare's Giraldus, ed. 1806, 2 vols. 4to. vol. i. pp. xi.-lxxii.

CHAP. XVIII.

Returning into South Wales, he directed his attention to the temporalities of his uncle's diocese, and obtained from Richard, archbishop of Canterbury, authority to act as legate for enforcing the payment of the tithes of wool and cheese in the districts of Pembroke and Cardigan, and for the rectification of similar matters throughout the circuit of St. David's. In the exercise of this commission, Giraldus was severe, and used his power of excommunication with that rash readiness which betrays utter ignorance of real piety. Giraldus was authorized, at the same time, to carry into effect Archbishop [1] Anselm's Decrees, for the enforcement of clerical celibacy, which had hitherto been utterly disregarded in Wales. He termed the wives of the Cymric clergy concubines, and insisted upon their being dismissed. The aged Archdeacon of Brycheiniog refusing to obey this order, and answering the remonstrances of Giraldus by declaring the independence of the Ancient British Church, and the superior purity of his own wedded life to the celibacy of Archbishop Richard, was punished by immediate suspension from all ecclesiastical functions, and by deprivation of his archdeaconry and prebend. These preferments, with the reservation of a bare maintenance to their former possessor, were forthwith bestowed, at the request of Bishop David, upon his ambitious and covetous nephew, Giraldus de Barri, who consequently took up his abode at Llandduw, near the town of Aberhonddu, prosecuted his work with renewed rigour, and made his daily life a course
A.D. 1176. of ceaseless strife. Hearing that Adam, bishop of St. Asaph, was preparing to exercise episcopal jurisdiction in the parish of Ceri, which had of old been included within the boundary of the diocese of St. David's,

[1] Florence of Worcester, A.D. 1108.

Giraldus determined to prevent this loss of jurisdiction, or at least to recover it; but finding that his former attendants, grown weary of contention, refused to follow him, he sent messengers to demand from Eineon Glyd and Cadwallawn, the rulers of that district and its neighbourhood, men and horses suitable for military service to aid him, if required, in asserting by force of arms the rights of the bishopric of St. David's: the bishop had died in May, 1176, and the see was then vacant.

Travelling with great celerity to Ceri, Giraldus took possession of the church on a Sunday morning, caused a peal of bells to be rung to announce his arrival, and celebrated mass with due formality. An interchange of messages between the approaching Bishop of St. Asaph and the combative Archdeacon of Brycheiniog concluded in their meeting at the churchyard gate, attended by their respective clergy. A long altercation ensued, and the bishop, in assertion of his claim, alighted from his palfrey, set his mitre upon his head, took the crosier in his hand, and commenced a stately march at the head of his party towards the church which he came to consecrate. While these preparations were being made, the archdeacon and his party hastily withdrew into the church, and arrayed themselves in their priestly vestments and surplices, then bearing lighted tapers and the parochial crucifix, they issued forth in procession, just in time to prevent the entrance of their opponents. Giraldus immediately pronounced the usual form of excommunication against Bishop Adam and his adherents, while the bishop with emulative vehemence pronounced the same form of excommunication against Archdeacon Giraldus and his abettors. Giraldus, however, having possession of the

CHAP. XVIII.

steeple, ordered the bells to ring three peals in confirmation of the sentence which he had uttered, and the bishop and his clergy having no bells at command, turned their backs at the sound, and owned themselves worsted by mounting their horses and departing. No time was lost in making this retreat, but speed did not save the episcopal cavalcade from being pelted with earth and stones by the rural partisans of the archidiaconal zealots. After this unseemly victory, Giraldus repaired to King Henry at Northampton, and boasted of the service done to the crown, in which the property of the vacant see was for an interval vested. The king commended his spirit, and made the courtiers laugh by repeating the story as a jest; but Henry's sagacity discerned therein indications of a domineering will too nearly akin to that of Becket to be trusted with a chance of primacy. The canons of Mynyw elected Giraldus bishop of St. David's; the Archbishop of Canterbury and all the prelates of his ecclesiastical province approved their choice; but the king refused to ratify it. Giraldus soothed his mortified vanity by asserting that Henry in conversation had mentioned that archdeacon's near relationship to the sovereign princes of South Wales as the cause of his refusal; but this objection, apart from other considerations, was evidently a futile pretext. David Fitz Gerald, the previous bishop, was a much nearer kinsman of the Welsh princes as the son of Nest than Giraldus as Nest's grandson, who had also a double dilution of Norman blood; but David was a quiet man and Giraldus was not. Peter de Leia,[1] prior of Wenlock, was therefore consecrated bishop of St. David's, Novem-

[1] Nicolas, Synopsis, vol. ii. p. 839.

ber 7, 1176, and Giraldus for a time withdrew to Paris to study polite literature and the art of declamation.

§ 5. William de Breos,[1] in pursuance of his evil designs, under a show of neighbourly kindness and good fellowship, invited the native princes and nobles of Gwent Uchaf to partake of his hospitality at an entertainment which he prepared for them in the castle of Abergavenny. In the midst of their unsuspecting festivity, he suddenly proposed that they should bind themselves to a local regulation forbidding travellers to carry any missile or edged weapon. General dissent from this suggestion was followed by his summoning the men-at-arms who stood concealed, and by a massacre of all the guests. Among the murdered chiefs were Seissyll ab Dyfnwal and his eldest son; but lest a younger one at home should find partisans to assert his rights to the ancestral inheritance, De Breos sent forth ruffians who slew the child in his mother's presence. To palliate the guilt of these heinous crimes, he afterwards asserted that the Welsh had slain an uncle of his some months before.

§ 6. Dafydd ab Owen Gwynedd, sovereign of North Wales, Rhys ab Gruffydd, lord of South Wales, Owen Cyfeiliog, Gruffydd Maelor, and Cadwallawn of Maelenydd, the princes of Powys, attended the council held by the two Henries at Oxford, renewed their acts of homage, and received formal grants of the lands which had been resigned to them.

They retained the privileges of provincial government according to their own laws, but the King of Gwynedd virtually renounced his supremacy, and

[1] Annales Cambriæ, A.D. 1175; Brut y Tywysogion, A.D. 1175; Roger of Wendover, A.D. 1176; Giraldus, Itin. book i. c. iv.; Powel's Historie of Cambria; Wynne's History of Wales.

CHAP. XVIII.

with the others accepted the feudal tenure of vassalage.

Dafydd ab Owen Gwynedd[1] had taken the Isle of Anglesey from his brother Maelgwn and imprisoned him; his brother Cynan had escaped by death from fraternal tyranny, Madog had betaken himself to transatlantic regions, but Rhodri, another energetic son of Owen Gwynedd, escaped at this time from Dafydd's prison-house, and, finding himself welcomed as a deliverer by the inhabitants of Mona, established himself there as an independent sovereign, and soon extended his dominions by the aid of popular favour over every part of Gwynedd, excepting those districts southward of the Conwy, where English fortresses and garrisons maintained the cause of Dafydd.

A.D. 1176. This year Cadell ab Gruffydd died of the wounds which he had received many years before, and was buried at Ystrad Flûr. Though disabled from the use of arms ever since the unhappy day when he hunted near Dinbych y Pyscoed, it would appear that this prince had continued to serve his country as a statesman, and merited the regret which caused his death to be recorded among the great ones of his day.

A.D. 1178. At the beginning of the year 1178, Rhys ab Gruffydd, in fulfilment of a previous proclamation, held an Eisteddfod,[2] and received many distinguished guests at his castle of Aberteifi. Feats of arms and dramatic entertainments were exhibited, and the assembled bards of the three provinces contended together for the prizes of poetry and music, munificent rewards being

[1] Annales Cambriæ; Brut y Tywysogion; Powel's Historie of Cambria; Wynne's History of Wales.

[2] Brut y Tywysogion, A.D. 1176——; Powel's Historie of Cambria; Wynne's History of Wales.

conferred upon the successful competitors. In poetry the bards of Gwynedd excelled all others, but in music none could surpass the harpers of Rhys's own household.

The Normans of the Marches were restless at this period, and Eineon Glyd and Morgan ab Maredudd were treacherously slain by them.

On September 22, 1179,[1] Cadwallawn, a Cymric prince, returning from England under King Henry's safe-conduct, was notwithstanding attacked by his enemies and slain, to the notorious scandal of that monarch and his officers. The authors of the deed, however, received condign punishment. This Cadwallawn appears to have been a prince of Maeleinydd.

The distracted state of Gwynedd affected all Cymru, and Rhys ab Gruffydd, being occupied in building and fortifying a castle at Rhaiadyr Gwy, was molested and hindered by the hostile inroads of the sons of Cynan ab Owen Gwynedd. A.D. 1179.

§ 7. Giraldus had returned to his long neglected archdeaconry and parish in the year 1180. He found the whole diocese in confusion, the bishop and the native clergy being in a state of open enmity. Giraldus therefore obtained from the Archbishop of Canterbury the appointment of administrator of all the affairs of the see, and he exercised the office with prudence and moderation until, after three or four years had elapsed, Bishop Peter de Leia, from the retirement of an English convent, took the liberty of interfering in some particular cases. The haughty archdeacon, indignant at the check, threw up his special office, together with his ecclesiastical benefices, and threatened to use his interest with the Pope to procure the bishop's deposi-

[1] Roger of Wendover.

CHAP. XVIII.

tion. The interposition of mutual friends restored peace, and the archdeacon condescended to resume his benefices, and to accept from King Henry (A.D. 1184), the office of resident chaplain at the English court. In the same year Giraldus lost by death his steady friend Richard, archbishop of Canterbury,[1] whose successor was Baldwin, bishop of Worcester.

A.D. 1184.

§ 8. Ranulph de la Poer,[2] lord of Abergavenny and viscount of Gloucester, together with William de Breos, and a strong military force from Hereford, were occupied in building a castle at Llandingat in Gwent, and aware that an attack upon them was premeditated by the native chiefs of the country, when, one morning at break of day, Ranulph drew up his small army in battle array to receive the fierce onset of the avengers. He was driven, nevertheless, into his intrenchments, and there slain with nine noblemen of the Marches, and many other warriors; but De Breos, though captured, was rescued by his retainers, and escaped his condign punishment. The sons and near kinsmen of the victims to the Abergavenny massacre, and other sufferers from various atrocious crimes, which had also been instigated by the king, and perpetrated or abetted by Ranulph de la Poer and William de Breos, were among the chief executors of this signal act of vengeance.

King Henry, infuriated by a deed which thus openly laid hidden wickedness to his charge, cared no longer to maintain a specious show of kindness, forgot the expediency of conciliation, resolved promptly to chastise those who had insulted his authority in the person of his sheriff, and levied an army to reduce South Wales

[1] Florence of Worcester, 2nd continuation; Roger of Wendover.

[2] Giraldus, Itin. book i. c. iv.

to subserviency; but Rhys ab Gruffydd, obtaining a safe-conduct, met the incensed monarch on his march, renewed his oaths of allegiance at Worcester, promised to send hostages for the maintenance of order, and persuaded him to abandon his hostile purpose. The promise of sending fresh hostages was not, however, fulfilled, for the son and nephews whom Rhys had destined for that peril obstinately refused to submit to the cruel hazard of being maimed and murdered like their predecessors. CHAP. XVIII.

In 1185, Giraldus was appointed preceptor to Prince John, whom he accompanied to Ireland, where the subjected bishopries of Fernes and of Leighlin were in succession offered to his acceptance, and refused by him, because, as he said, he saw that he could not 'improve and exalt the church of Ireland;' which probably meant that he could not impart to its prelates conspicuous dignity, and shine forth among them as primate and metropolitan. He subsequently refused also the archbishopric of Cashel.

The next two years were remarkable only for acts of violence perpetrated by some of the district princes of Wales upon each other. A.D. 1186-1187.

§ 9. The year 1188 was rendered memorable by an occurrence unparalleled in Cymraeg annals, the preaching of the Crusade throughout the country by Baldwin, archbishop of Canterbury and papal legate.

The Archbishop[1] set forth from Hereford attended by a pompous train of ecclesiastics; by Ranulph de Glanville, chief justiciary of England; by Peter, bishop of St. David's, upon whose diocese they first entered; by Alexander, archdeacon of Bangor, the appointed A.D. 1188.

[1] Giraldus, Itinerary of Abp. Baldwin; Annales Cambriæ, A.D. 1186; Brut y Tywysogion, A.D. 1188.

CHAP. XVIII.

interpreter; and by Giraldus de Barri, who was ordered by King Henry to act as guide and master of the ceremonies to the mission. Prince Rhys met the procession at the place now called New Radnor, attended by all the district sovereigns of the neighbourhood; and Ranulph de Glanville transferred the archbishop to his safe-keeping, and returned at once to England.

The Archbishop then delivered a Latin sermon, and the interpreter communicated its purport to the audience. This having been done, Giraldus, acting under special instructions, and stimulated by King Henry's promises, immediately fell down at the feet of the Archbishop, and received from his hands the English crusading sign of the White Cross. This example was instantly followed by Peter de Leia, bishop of St. David's, and the next proselyte was Eineon ab Eineon Glyd, sovereign prince of Elfel, and son-in-law of Prince Rhys. Rhys himself seemed almost persuaded to do the like, but returning home to his wife Gwenllian ferch Madog, prince of Powys, he was strengthened by her counsels to resist all further importunities, much to the annoyance of Giraldus, who held her in great contempt for having married Rhys her fourth cousin. A deputation of the canons of Menevia soon afterwards waited upon that prince, and strenuously besought him to stop the Archbishop's progress, and not to suffer him to desecrate the sacred precincts of their saint by such an unprecedented intrusion. Rhys keenly felt the force of their remonstrances, but reverence for the papal legate and chivalrous courtesy towards King Henry's delegate prevailed over every other consideration.[1]

Baldwin was undoubtedly an enthusiast in the cause of

[1] Roger of Wendover, A.D. 1188.

the Crusade; but, besides the ostensible object of enlisting military votaries, he desired, by means of this mission, to gain access to the principal churches, and by the celebration of mass there in full canonical state, to obtain the practical recognition of his ecclesiastical supremacy in a manner least likely to provoke the opposition of the native clergy, who honoured the Pope and his legates, but denied their subjection to the see of Canterbury, and held Menevia to be their metropolitan episcopate.

The Archbishop's second stage was Craig Caerau, now called Old Radnor, and there Maelgwn ab Cadwallawn, prince of Maeleinydd, was induced to take the cross. Having passed over the river Wye, the Archbishop came to Hay, where he preached in the church, and lodged in the castle of De Breos. Early the next morning he set forth in the direction of Aberhonddu, but having approached within two miles of that town, he turned off to Llanduw, and rested for the night at the archidiaconal residence of Giraldus.

Three castellated mansions belonged at that time to the see of St. David's, one at Llanffy, one at Llawhaden, and one at Llandduw; but the latter was in a dilapidated condition, and probably unfit for the reception of the Archbishop and his company. Giraldus took the opportunity of presenting a copy of his 'Topography of Ireland' to Baldwin, who either read or heard a part of it every day throughout the subsequent journey; a proof how little he cared for making himself acquainted with the country and people around him

The ecclesiastical establishments which the Normans maintained in Wales already owned subjection to the English primate, avoiding therefore as much as possible those lords, their feudatories, vassals, and retainers, the

CHAP. XVIII.

Archbishop sought the scattered homesteads of the native population in those pastoral regions, where they dwelt under their own laws, in the exercise of their ancient customs, and exempt from the interference of feudal tyranny.

He did not visit Aberhonddu, but crossed the country from Llandduw to Talgarth, and thence passed over Rhiw Cwnstabl into the Alpine valley of the Grwnwy Fawr, among the wild fastnesses of the Mynydd Du, where the bridge still known as Pont yr Esgob marks his route. Proceeding through the ill-omened pass of Coed Grwnwy he reached Abergavenny, and being met there by William, bishop of Llandaff, Baldwin preached in the church of that town a Latin sermon, which induced many persons to receive the cross.

The cavalcade had set out from Abergavenny for Usk, when it was followed by a local sovereign named Arthenas, who apologized to the Archbishop for not having sooner attended him, and at the Archbishop's instigation received the cross.

At Usk, the crusading party enlisted many wild and lawless men, and thence passed on through Caerleon to Newport—Cas Newydd—where it halted for the night, and gained many proselytes. Caerdiff was the next stage, and then the Archbishop came to Llandaff, where the bishop of the diocese exercised due hospitality, and, on proclamation being made, many Englishmen and Welshmen took the cross. The next morning the Archbishop celebrated mass at the high altar of the cathedral, and afterwards journeyed onward by way of Ewenny to the monastery of Margam. Morgan ab Caradog, the native sovereign of that district, guided the archiepiscopal company across the perilous quicksands of the River Nedd to Llansawel (Briton Ferry), and

they spent the ensuing night at Swansea Castle (Abertawe), having left the diocese of Llandaff, taken leave of its bishop, and re-entered the diocese of St. David's. The next morning the Archbishop celebrated mass, and preached to the people; and an aged Cymro, named Cador, came forward, made a speech, and offered a tenth part of his property for the use of the crusade. From Abertawe, the party went to Cydweli, and thence to Caerfyrddin, meeting with so little success that they passed on to the Cistercian monastery of Alba Domus. On the road thither they had found the corpse of a young Cymrò, who, when hastening to meet them, had been shot dead by twelve archers of the castle of St. Clare; and the next day the Archbishop commanded that those archers should be marked with the sign of the White Cross as a punishment for their crime. The next stage was Haverford, and there the Archbishop delivered a sermon to a select assembly, and Giraldus preached to the people in the Latin and French languages, and persuaded many soldiers and plebeians to receive the cross. The Flemings who inhabited that district were at that period as hostile as ever to the Cymry. They still used with equal facility the plough and the sword, were enterprising in pursuit of gain, skilled in the manufacture of woollen cloth, and conversant with commerce.

When the Archbishop left Haverford, he went to Menevia, where he and his companions were hospitably entertained by their fellow-traveller Bishop Peter; and the next morning the Primate of England triumphantly celebrated mass before the high altar of the Cymric metropolitan cathedral. Delighted with this achievement, and impatient to escape from the protests of the indignant canons, Baldwin set forth on his jour-

CHAP. XVIII.

ney, and left Giraldus to preach to the people at St. David's. That night the re-assembled party were hospitably entertained at St. Dogmael's priory by Prince Rhys, who conducted them the next day to his castle of Aberteifi, and gave them there a regal welcome. All the inhabitants of the neighbourhood assembled on the southern side of the river, Prince Rhys with his sons Maelgwn and Gruffydd being present, and the Archbishop and Giraldus addressed the princes and people in Latin orations, which, by means of gesticulation, intonation, and translation, made many proselytes, although they failed to induce either of the princes to take the cross. To commemorate the event, some enthusiastic persons immediately traced out the site of a chapel, marking the spot where the Archbishop stood as the place for the high altar. Such a building was doubtless erected, for the place still bears the name of Parc y Capel. From Aberteifi, Prince Rhys accompanied Archbishop Baldwin and his party to Cilgerran, and thence to Pont Stephan (Llanpedr), where they passed the night, and the Archbishop, the Archdeacon of Brecon, and two Cistercian abbots, preached in Latin to the people, many of whom received the cross. The next stage was Ystrad Flûr, where Sisillus, one of the two Cistercian abbots, entertained the Archbishop and his party; who, journeying northward the following morning, met Cynwrig ab Rhys and a body of light-armed youths, and stopped under the shelter of a wood to confer with him. Prince Cynwrig was tall and handsome, fair, with curly hair, dignified in manner, and of most royal aspect, though simply attired in a vest, trousers, and cloak, after the common usage of his country. The subject of the conference was the sermon preached by Baldwin at Aberteifi; but Cynwrig could not be

persuaded to receive the cross, although he joined his band to the Archbishop's escort. Passing through Llanddewi Brefi, the scene of St. David's election to the primacy, Archbishop Baldwin, Prince Rhys, his sons Maelgwn and Cynwrig, the Bishop of St. David's, the two Archdeacons, and other ecclesiastics and laymen, arrived at Llanbadarn Fawr, and rested there for the night. On the following morning, the Archbishop's performance of mass attracted a large congregation to the church, where a lay abbot presided; it being then usual, both among the Welsh and Irish, for the parochial clergy to appoint the most powerful laymen of the parish to the government of every old monastic institution, in order to obtain protection from the intrusion of foreign monks. No success attended the crusading party at Llanbadarn, and they journeyed onward until they reached the river Dyfi, which forms the northern boundary of Deheubarth. Here the Bishop of St. David's, who had conducted the Archbishop all through South Wales, took his leave, and Prince Rhys, with his sons Gruffydd and Cynwrig, also said farewell and travelled homeward; but Maelgwn ab Rhys, desiring to visit King Henry's court, continued to escort the sacerdotal procession, which rested that night at Towyn. Early the next morning, Gruffydd ab Cynan ab Owen Gwynedd came to visit the Archbishop, and apologized to that dignitary for the tardiness of his attentions.

The next night, the crusading party rested at Llanfair, near Harlech in Ardudwy; and, on the following morning, Maredudd ab Cynan and his people attended upon the Archbishop, and listened to exhortations which had the effect of winning several proselytes. The onward journey lay by way of the Traeth Bychan and the Traeth Mawr, where two castles of stone had lately been

CHAP. XVIII.

erected, one called Deudraeth, belonging to the sons of Cynan ab Owen Gwynedd, situated in Eifionedd; the other called Carn Madryn, belonging also to the sons of Owen, built on the headland of Lleyn; and that night, the eve of Palm Sunday, the Archbishop rested at Nefyn. The next morning, he preached a Latin sermon, which induced many persons to receive the cross, and then he passed on through Caernarfon to Bangor, where Guy, bishop of that see, gave him hospitable entertainment. The next day, the Archbishop celebrated mass at the high altar of the cathedral, and so importunately urged the bishop and some other persons that they unwillingly took the cross. From Bangor they crossed the Menai, and on landing in Mona were met by the reigning sovereign of that island, Rhodri ab Owen Gwynedd, attended by a multitude of people, who listened upon the shore to the sermons of the Archbishop and the translations made by Alexander, archdeacon of Bangor, and Sisillus, abbot of Ystrad Flûr. Many of the congregation received the cross, but the youths of Rhodri's family, seated apart upon a rock, remained as imperturbable as their seat, nor could their father be persuaded to take the cross.

Ynys Lenarch (Priestholm) was at this time inhabited by hermits, who maintained themselves by manual labour, and suffered no woman to approach it. On returning to Bangor, and re-visiting the cathedral under feelings of ill will towards Rhodri, the Archbishop was shown the tombs of Owen Gwynedd and of that sovereign's brother, Cadwaladyr, both of whom lay buried before the high altar. Owen had married for his second wife his cousin Cristiad, daughter of Gronw ab Edwyn, who was the mother of Rhodri; and although Archbishop Becket had excommunicated

Owen for refusing to put her away, that prince had refused compliance, and preferred dying under the ban. Upon this pretext, therefore, Archbishop Baldwin directed Bishop Guy to take a proper, *i.e.* a private, opportunity of removing Owen's mortal remains from their resting-place.

Proceeding along the sea coast, and crossing the estuary of the Conwy below the castle of Tyganwy, the crusading party arrived at Rhuddlan, where Prince Dafydd ab Owen Gwynedd gave them a royal welcome for the night. In the morning they persuaded many persons to receive the cross, and then passed on to the cathedral of Llanelwy, where Bishop Reyner received them; the Archbishop celebrated mass, and then, journeying through a rich mineral district, arrived at Basingwerk and halted for the night. On the following day, they traversed a long quicksand, leaving Counsyllt to the right hand. At Chester the Archbishop tarried several days, solemnized the festival of Easter, and by his exhortations persuaded many persons to take the cross. From that city the party passed by way of the White Monastery to Croes Oswalt, where the Princes Gruffydd and Elised, with many other persons, met them, and a few were persuaded by the Archbishop to take the cross. The Prince Gruffydd ab Madog, at Baldwin's instigation, at this time publicly renounced his long-wedded wife Angharad ferch Owen Gwynedd, for no other reason than because she was his cousin.

William Fitz Alan was their host at this place, which Giraldus calls Oswaldestre, and here they passed the night. It was the site of the Powysian breeding studs of fine horses of Spanish origin, which were said to have been introduced by Robert de Belesme, earl of

CHAP. XVIII.

Shrewsbury. Shrewsbury was the next stage, and there the Archbishop and his retinue continued for some days to rest and refresh themselves, and Baldwin and Giraldus by their Latin sermons gained many military recruits. From Shrewsbury also they fulminated a sentence of excommunication against Owen Cyfeiliog, because he alone of all the Welsh district sovereigns had neglected to come with his people to meet the representative of the Pope and English king. The acknowledged ability with which Owen governed his territories, his justice, wisdom, moderation, eloquence, and other princely qualities, went for nothing when balanced against the implied disrespect of his absence.

From Shrewsbury the Archbishop went to Wenloch, and thence by way of Maelor to the castle of Ludlow, and through Leominster (Llan Llieni) to Hereford, leaving the districts of Maeleinydd and Elfel to the right hand, and returning to the point of their departure, after having enlisted, by the delivery of a cross cut out in white cloth, about 3,000 men well skilled in the use of arrows and lances, and conversant with military affairs, to take part in the expedition to Palestine, known in history as the Second Crusade.

§ 10. The river[1] Dee was at that time accounted the northern boundary of Wales, and the river Wye the southern. The Cymry of all ranks were then trained to war, anxiously studying the defence of their country and of their liberty, and willingly undergoing hardships, fighting and dying for their native sovereigns, under whose dominion they lived, exempt from the exactions and burdensome services of foreign rulers. Agility rather than strength was the characteristic of

[1] Giraldus, Description of Wales.

the people. They used light equipments, breastplates, helmets, shields, and more rarely greaves plated with iron. The men of North Wales were especially expert in the use of the lance. The men of Meřionydd used that weapon of extraordinary length, and wielded it with matchless skill. The men of Gwent, who were deemed the most warlike and valiant of this warlike and valiant race, excelled all competitors in archery. They used a stout, unpolished bow made of the wood of the native elm, not suited to carry an arrow to a great distance, but to answer well to the hand and to inflict severe wounds. It is recorded in proof of this assertion[1] that two archers of Gwent penetrated with their shafts an oaken portal four fingers thick, that a man-at-arms belonging to William de Breos was wounded by an arrow which pierced his armour of double-plated iron mail, passed through his hip and killed his horse; that another had his armour of the same sort penetrated by an arrow which nailed him through the hip to the saddle, and, on wheeling his horse round, was transfixed by another arrow through the other hip to the saddle. The higher classes went forth to war well mounted on swift and generous steeds, but most of the people served as infantry, wearing high shoes of untanned leather or walking barefoot.

They ploughed the soil in the months of March and April for oats, and twice during the summer and once in the winter time for wheat. They ate more flesh than bread, lived chiefly on the produce of their herds and flocks, and neglected manufactures, shipping, and commerce. The young men went about in troops, each troop having the son of a native prince for its leader; and thus, trusting for subsistence to casual hospitality,

[1] Giraldus, Itin. book i. c. iv.

CHAP. XVIII.

they enured themselves to fatigue by practising martial exercises, climbing mountains, and traversing forests. The Cymry kept their horses and accoutrements very carefully; they were inexpensive in dress, frugal, and abstemious in diet. The houses were usually wattled structures, not grouped in towns or villages, but set apart from each other on the lands of the owner. There were no beggars, for hospitality was a thing of course. The wayfarer who retained his weapons and refused to accept of water for his feet when he entered a house, was supplied with food and suffered to pass on his way; but he who delivered them up and accepted the ablution, became a sojourner for the day and night. Arriving in the morning, the guest would probably find only the matron and maidens of the family at home. Their lively conversation and the music of their harps and voices entertained him until the setting sun, and the signal of a horn, sounded at the homestead, brought in the father and his sons from their pastoral occupations, or, according to the season, from walking backward chaunting national melodies before four oxen, which were yoked together and harnessed to the plough, with the intention of soothing the creatures' sense of toil; or from cutting corn with the two-handled knife, or from traversing a river or estuary in coracles for fish. The men, like their forefathers of Julius Cæsar's time, shaved all the hair from their faces excepting that of the upper lip. Their personal habits were fastidiously neat, their fine teeth finding a dentifrice in the green hazel leaves, their hair was kept closely cut round the ears and eyes, and a white veil, gracefully folded and adjusted, encircled the head of each woman like a diadem. The family meal, placed in dishes and laid on mats, was set upon the table,

interspersed with trenchers of sweet herbs. Broth with chopped meat and broad flat cakes of bread freshly baked, formed principal parts of the repast. The host and hostess devoted themselves to attending upon their guest, and would take no food until he had done eating. The first piece broken off from every loaf they set aside for the use of the poor, and they arranged their company at table in threes, to show honour to the Divine Trinity. Dinner being over, harp, pipe,[1] and crwth,[2] but principally the harp, joined their voices in producing a concert of great excellence, for they executed part singing even better than a single melody. Animated conversation had its turn, and the oratorical talent, the poetic genius, and the genial wit and humour of the household were freely put forth for the solace and delight of the guests. At night a series of beds of rushes was spread along the side of the hall, and there, covered with the brychan, the guests and their entertainers took their rest.

§ 11. A.D. 1188. Maelgwn ab Rhys, instead of becoming a crusader, soon returned into South Wales, and made war so fiercely against the Flemings, that he wrested the town of Tenby (Dinbych y Pyscoed) out of their hands, and burned it to ashes.

In the year 1189, some persons who were digging a grave for the interment of a monk, near to a place marked by two old pyramids at [3]Glastonbury, are said to have found, seven feet deep in the earth, a stone resembling the lid of a sarcophagus, on the under-side

[1] Potter, Archæologia Græca, ed. 1804, Edinburgh, vol. ii. p. 84.

[2] Cambrian Register, 1795, p. 396; Grose's Antiquities, vol. i. plate x.

[3] Giraldus; Roger of Wendover, A.D. 1191; Gibson's Camden's Britannia, ed. 1772, pp. 183, 184, with an engraving; Thierry's Norman Conquest, Whittaker's ed. p. 225; Powel's Historie of Cambria, pp. 238, 239; Cambro-Briton, vol. ii. p. 366.

CHAP. XVIII.

of which a leaden cross was inserted, marked in uncouth letters with the words, 'Hic jacet sepultus inclytus rex Arthurus in insulâ Avaloniâ;' and, nine feet deeper still, a hollow tree containing the gigantic bones of that hero, and near it the coffin, remains, and fair golden hair of Queen Gwenhwyfer.

This fact or figment was construed or contrived to quench the hopes of those imaginative Welshmen, who persisted in expecting the awakening of Arthur from an enchanted sleep, and his literal return to effect the deliverance of his country.

A.D. 1189. Instead of preparing to go with Archbishop Baldwin to Palestine, Giraldus attended King Henry the Second in his expedition to Normandy, and remained there until that monarch's death on July 6. Richard, who succeeded to the English throne, sent Giraldus back to Wales immediately, that he might assist in preventing an insurrection of the native sovereigns, and also appointed him to be a coadjutor with William Longchamp, bishop of Ely, in the regency of England.

The first action of Prince Rhys under the new reign had a pacific tendency. He accompanied John, earl of Mortaigne, to Oxford, intending to obtain an interview with the new monarch; but Richard, who probably felt incensed at Rhys's refusal to join in the Crusade, refused to see him; and the Prince, deeming that this insult dissolved all grounds of amity, returned to his own country intent on vengeance. He forthwith mustered his military forces and won several [1] castles, subjugating the adjacent territories; but his hostile advance upon Caerfyrddin was checked by the presence of an English army commanded by John, earl of Mortaigne.

[1] Giraldus, Itin. book i. c. x.; Annales Cambriæ, A.D. 1189; Brut y Tywysogion, A.D. 1189, 1190; Powel's Historie of Cambria, A.D. 1189.

The following year (A.D. 1190) was memorable to Rhys, for in it he built the castle of Cydweli, and death deprived him of his daughter Gwenllian, who, inheriting in an eminent degree the personal beauty which distinguished her royal race, was accounted the most lovely woman of her time and nation.

A.D. 1190.

Gruffydd, prince of that part of Powys, called Maelor by the Cymry and Broomfield by the English, died about this time and was buried at Meifod. His wife was Angharad ferch Owen Gwynedd, and they had a son named Madog, who succeeded to his father's sovereignty, which was subsequently known as Powys Fadog.

Gwynedd continued still a field of strife to the descendants of Owen; Dafydd appears to have regained some parts of his revolted heritage; Rhodri was driven out of Mona by the sons of his brother Cynan, who reduced the island to subjection, although a strong party there still favoured the cause of the exile.

The death of Owen ab Rhys at Ystrad Flûr, in the year 1190, was probably less grievous to the Prince of Deheubarth than the conduct of five out of his many surviving sons.

During the years 1191, 1192, 1193, and 1194, this prince and his valiant but turbulent progeny Howel, Maelgwn Gruffydd, Madog, and Anarawd, won many castles from the Flemings, and also took and sacked several towns, the father and sons occasionally despoiling, injuring, betraying, and imprisoning one another, until Prince Rhys, tearing Dinefawr from the grasp of Maelgwn, burnt his own royal citadel; while the sons of Cadwallawn ab Madog of Maelcinydd, pounced upon the castle of Rhayadyr Gwy, and held it for themselves.

CHAP. XVIII.

A.D. 1194.

Llewelyn ab Iorwerth, a child only twelve years old, but one of extraordinary intelligence and energy, was set up towards the close of this year as the rightful sovereign of Gwynedd by the Princes of Powys his maternal kinsmen, and by the sons of Cynan his cousins; and after a well contested battle at Aberconwy, in which [1] Dafydd was worsted, and one not less severe at Porth Aethwy, from which Rhodri fled discomfited, the people gladly welcomed the young hero to the throne of his forefathers.

[1] Annales Cambriæ, A.D. 1194; Brut y Tywysogion, A.D. 1194; Powel's Historie of Cambria.

CHAPTER XIX.

THE CYMRY AND THE NORMANS.

FROM THE ACCESSION OF LLEWELYN AB IORWERTH TO HIS DEATH, A.D. 1194–1240.

. . . . Hot,
Quick spirits, who tread firm to ends foreshown,
And use the name of greatness unforgot,
To meditate what greatness may be done.
E. B. BROWNING: *Casa Guidi Windows.*

§ I. SOON after the accession of Llewelyn ab Iorwerth, [1] Roger de Mortimer, with a strong force, took possession of Maeleinydd, and built the castle of Cymaron for the defence of his acquisition, driving out the two sons of Cadwallawn ab Madog, the native rulers of that district. CHAP. XIX. A.D. 1194.

Rhys and Maredudd, two of Prince Rhys's sons, being in a state of active rebellion against their father, assembled a company of reckless men, and wrested the castle of Dinefawr from the garrison who had held it for him. The young princes went thence to Cantref Bychan, where they met with so favourable a reception that they were enabled, without a blow, to take possession of the castle.

[1] Annales Cambriæ, A.D. 1194; Brut y Tywysogion, A.D. 1194; Powel's Historie of Cambria; Wynne's History of Wales.

CHAP. XIX.

The local sovereign, aroused by these flagrant insults, put forth his authority with sufficient power to cause the two chief culprits to be deserted by their followers, delivered up, and placed in safe custody.

In the following year, Prince Rhys besieged the town and castle of Caerfyrddin, which he took, plundered, and destroyed. He then led his troops to the siege of Colunwy Castle, which, after many fierce attempts, he succeeded in taking by assault, and then burned it. He next attacked the castle of Maesyfed, and had scarcely won it, when Roger Mortimer and Hugh de Saye, with a host of Normans and Englishmen, advanced to the rescue. Prince Rhys, disdaining the shelter of the walls, marched out to encounter his foes, and so effectually did he stimulate the courage of his men by calling to memory the struggles of their forefathers against the Romans for freedom, that his half-armed and half-disciplined levies drove their well-armed and expert adversaries from the field, slaying many, and pursuing the rest until night overshadowed them. After this success, the Prince proceeded to Payne's Castle in Elfel, and gained possession of it before William de Breos could return thither from the castle of St. Clair, which he had been contesting with Prince Howel ab Rhys. On arriving, however, De Breos offered pacific terms to Prince Rhys, who accepted them, and withdrew from Elfel. Within the same year died Rhodri ab Owen Gwynedd.

Led by the Lords Marchers, or by the King of England's generals, many companies of Welshmen continued at this period to serve as mercenaries in the intestine and in the continental wars of the English.

The year A.D. 1117 was one of mourning in South Wales, for, on April 28, died Rhys ab Gruffydd, who

had been in his [1] youth one of the most stalwart champions for Cymric liberty which this land of patriots ever produced. He had disinherited his son Maelgwn, and intended Gruffydd to be his successor. Gruffydd, therefore [2] hastened to the English court, where he obtained a recognition of his right to the inheritance; but he had scarcely taken possession of it, when Maelgwn, with his ally Prince Gwenwynwyn, marched so secretly and suddenly upon Aberystwyth that, after a fierce and bloody conflict, they captured Gruffydd, and possessed themselves of Aberteifi Castle and Ceredigion. Maelgwn delivered up his brother to Gwenwynwyn, who placed him in the hands of the English to be detained as a prisoner of war, and then receiving Careghofa as the price of this betrayal, he proceeded by force of arms to subject Arwstli to his own authority, and, not long afterwards, the death of his father Owen Ceifeiliog gave to him the local sovereignty of Powys Uchaf.

Meanwhile Dafydd ab Owen Gwynedd, with his Norman coadjutors, was making preparations for another effort to regain his throne. Llewelyn ab Iorwerth encountered him in a pitched battle, gave him a signal overthrow, and took him prisoner, A.D. 1197.

About the same time, Trahaern Fychan, a man of great authority in Brycheiniog, was invited by William de Breos to hold a conference with him at Llangors, and being on his journey thitherward was, by that wicked baron's command, treacherously waylaid, captured, tied to a horse's tail, and dragged through

[1] Higden, Polychronicon; Hoare's Giraldus, 4to ed. 1806, vol. ii. p. 183; Annales Cambriæ, A.D. 1197; Brut y Tywysogion, A.D. 1197; Powel's Historie of Cambria.

[2] Rymer's Fœdera, ed. 1704, tomus i. p. 120.

CHAP. XIX.

the town of Aberhonddu to the gallows, where his head was cut off, and his body suspended by the feet during three days. The brother, wife, and children of the murdered man fled from their home in dread of the murderer, and failed not to invoke the retributive vengeance of their cousin Prince Gwenwynwyn. To chastise De Breos, and to fulfil his own ambitious wish of extending Powys to its ancient boundaries, Gwenwynwyn mustered his forces and laid siege to that castle belonging to De Breos, which is sometimes called by the chroniclers the castle of Payne in Elfel, and sometimes the castle of Matilda, after Maud de St. Vallery, the wife of De Breos.

A.D. 1198.

In entering upon this expedition, Gwenwynwyn issued a proclamation that, as soon as he had won that fortress, he would burn the whole country to Severn's side, in revenge for the murder of his cousin Trahaern Fychan. Not having engines or miners, however, three weeks elapsed without his taking it, and during that time Geoffrey Fitz Peter,[1] high justiciary of England, raised an army, and joining to the royal forces those of the Lords Marchers, advanced to raise the siege and to rescue De Breos, who was himself in the castle. The justiciary offered terms of peace, but Gwenwynwyn rejected the conditions. The justiciary then liberated Prince Gruffydd ab Rhys, who hastily visiting his own districts, marched with all the men he could collect, joined the justiciary in Elfel, and rejoiced in the opportunity of avenging his personal wrongs upon the Prince of Powys Uchaf. A battle ensued, the army of Gwenwynwyn was put to the rout, many of his men were slain, and many more were taken prisoners, while only one Englishman lost his life, and that not by any

[1] Roger of Wendover A.D. 1198; Florence of Worcester, 2nd continuation.

foeman's weapon, but by the random arrow of a careless fellow-soldier. Gwenwynwyn submitted to the terms prescribed by the justiciary, the English and Normans returned home, and Prince Gruffydd, chiefly by the goodwill of his people, but partly by force of arms, recovered all his territories, excepting those which were protected by the castles of Aberteifi and Ystrad Meurig. The intervention of some noble and clerical friends induced Maelgwn to promise that, on a certain day, he would restore these castles to Gruffydd, and make a solid peace with him, on condition of receiving hostages for his personal safety. Gruffydd fulfilled his part of the contract by sending the promised hostages, but Maelgwn delivered them into the custody of Gwenwynwyn, and prepared to resist Gruffydd's claim by force of arms. The hostages made their escape, and got safe home again, but war was fiercely waged between the rival brothers. Maelgwn laid siege to the castle of Dinerth, took it by assault, and put the garrison to the sword; while Gruffydd won the castle of Cilgerran, and strengthened its fortifications.

On April 6, 1199, King Richard[1] died, and left the crown of England to his brother John, who, though engaged in foreign warfare, did not neglect his interests in Wales. He increased the number of his forces in the Welsh Marches, concluded with Llewelyn ab Iorwerth a peace for three years, and bound that prince and his principal sub-rulers by solemn oaths to act as his faithful feudatories. On the day of his coronation, June 26, King John created William the hereditary marshal of England earl of Striguil, who by

[1] Roger of Wendover; Roger of Hovedon; Florence of Worcester, 2nd continuation.

CHAP. XIX.

marriage with Isabel de Clare, daughter and heir of Richard Strongbow, had already acquired the earldom of Pembroke.

In the same year, Maelgwn ab Rhys,[1] perceiving that he could not much longer withstand the strenuous efforts of Gruffydd to wrest from him the castle of Aberteifi, most basely sold that fortress to the English Government, thus delivering into their hands the key of Cymru.

At this time also Madog ab Gruffydd Maelor, occupying himself with peaceful pursuits and religious hopes, founded and began to build the abbey of Llanegwest, known also by the name of Vale Crucis.

A.D. 1201. On St. Swithin's day, July 15, the settlers of Cidweli slew Maredudd ab Rhys: his brother Gruffydd forthwith took possession of his lands, which comprised the cantref Bychan and the town of Llanymddyfri. Less than a fortnight afterwards, upon St. James's day, Gruffydd ab Rhys, prince of Deheubarth, died, much regretted by his subjects. His brother Rhys Fychan then possessed himself of the cantref Bychan, and his brother Maelgwn seized upon the castle of Cilgerran. Gruffydd's wife was Maud, daughter of William de Breos, and their eldest son Rhys succeeded to the shattered throne of Dinefawr.

§ 2. Llewelyn ab Iorwerth, suspecting his cousin Maredudd ab Cynan ab Owen Gwynedd of treasonable practices, sent him into exile, and seized upon his territories, which comprised the cantref of Lleyn and the cwmwd of Efionydd.

On July 11[2] in the same year, Llewelyn and the

[1] Annales Cambriæ; Brut y Tywysogion, A.D. 1200; Powel's Historie of Cambria; Wynne's History of Wales.

[2] Rymer's Fœdera, ed. 1704, t. i. p. 123.

subordinate rulers of Gwynedd met the Chief Justiciary of England at Hereford, entered into a treaty of peace, and swore fealty to King John as supreme sovereign of Wales.

A.D. 1202.

It is recorded[1] that Llewelyn, who had lately acknowledged the supremacy of King John, reasserted at this time the long dormant right of the kings of Gwynedd to the paramount sovereignty over Powys and Deheubarth; that he called a meeting of the chief Cymric rulers of those provinces, and received oaths of allegiance from the friends who attended it; that the most powerful native prince who despised Llewelyn's summons and defied his authority was Gwenwynwyn, prince of Powys Uchaf; that the assembled district rulers, with one exception, agreed to the proposition made by Llewelyn, to force Gwenwynwyn either to resign his territories or submit to compliance; that Llewelyn consequently marched an army into Powys Uchaf, but happily clerical interference prevented bloodshed, and the refractory prince not only took a verbal oath of allegiance, but confirmed it by a written deed; that Llewelyn vented his ire upon the one dissentient who had opposed the invasion, Elised ab Madog, and took possession of his lands, though afterwards, upon the offender's submission, he gave or restored to him the castle of Crogen with seven appertaining townships. Within the same year, Llewelyn fortified the castle of Bala.

§ 3. Between the years 1195[2] and 1196, Giraldus refused in succession the bishoprics of Bangor and Llandaff, still hoping to attain the see of St. David's. He was again elected to it by the chapter in the year

[1] Powel's Historie of Cambria; Wynne's History of Wales.
[2] Hoare's Life of Giraldus Cambrensis.

CHAP. XIX.

1199; but Hubert, archbishop of Canterbury, refused to sanction their choice. He then engaged in a contest with that prelate, and vigorously carried on the suit which Bishop Bernard had instituted, maintaining the independence of the Cymric Church and the archiepiscopal primacy attached to the see of St. David's.

In the course of four years he visited Rome three times in the prosecution of this cause, and Innocent III. at last gave judgment in favour of Canterbury, upon the paltry plea that a pall had never been sent by any pope to an archbishop of St. David's. Disdaining to be a suffragan, Giraldus finally renounced his claim to the see, November 10, 1203. It was probably about the same time that he resigned the archdeaconry of Brycheiniog in favour of his nephew Philip de Barri, dedicating the remainder of his life to literature and religious exercises. He died at the age of seventy-four, much lamented by the Cymry, who, in consequence of his ambitious bravery, regarded him as the champion of their ecclesiastical independence.

§ 4. In the year 1204, Rhys ab Gruffydd ab Rhys, the heir of Deheubarth, had the castle of Llangadog wrenched from him by the combined strength of his uncle Maelgwn and Gwenwynwyn, prince of Powys Uchaf; and from that period, throughout several successive years, Prince Rhys, assisted by his brothers, waged incessantly a defensive or an aggressive war against his uncles Maelgwn and Rhys Fychan ab Gruffydd, and against the Lords Marchers of South Wales, in which the principal castles of the country often had their garrisons slaughtered, and often changed their owners.

A.D. 1204. Llewelyn ab Iorwerth had released his uncle David from captivity, under a belief that circumstances must

have wrought in him a thorough conviction of the hopelessness of his cause; but the dethroned sovereign fled to England, was enabled to raise an army there, and soon marched back to make yet another effort to retrieve his fallen fortunes. Llewelyn promptly put himself at the head of the men of Gwynedd, hastened to encounter his rival, and gave him a complete overthrow. David fled to England and died soon afterwards of grief.

In or about the year 1204, Tangwstyl ferch Llywarch Goch, district ruler of Rhos, the first wife of Llewelyn being dead, that prince accepted the hand of Joan, a daughter of King John, and received as a part of her marriage portion the long alienated and disputed lordship of Ellesmere. The grant of this district bears the date of March 23, 1205.

This year a severe winter and a frosty spring destroyed the oats and barley; and the want of grass and other fodder caused cattle and sheep to perish by thousands. A good wheat harvest alleviated the sufferings of the people from scarcity, and on the coast of Caerdigan Bay, especially at Aberystwyth, an unprecedented abundance of fish saved the local inhabitants from famine. A.D. 1205.

At this time Howel ab Rhys, surnamed Howel Sais, from having done military service with the King of England's forces, was put to death at Cemmaes by command of Maelgwn his brother; but his remains were honourably interred by the side of those of Prince Gruffydd ab Rhys in the abbey of Ystrad Flûr, although four sons of Howel's daughter, together with their father, his son-in-law, were soon afterwards killed by command of Maelgwn.

In the year 1207, Gwenwynwyn went, by King John's

CHAP. XIX.

invitation, to attend a council at Shrewsbury, and to his amazement was detained there a prisoner, while Llewelyn ab Iorwerth took advantage of his absence, and with the men of Gwynedd overran Powys Uchaf, and placed garrisons in the castles to secure permanent possession.

Maelgwn ab Rhys, the ally of Gwenwynwyn, struck with terror at these proceedings, and dreading a similar invasion, immediately dismantled the castles of Aberystwyth, Ystrad Meurig, and Dinerth, which he knew that he could not defend; but Llewelyn marched to Aberystwyth, restored and garrisoned the castle, seized upon the cantref of Penwedig, and upon the lands lying between Dyfi and Aeron, and gave that territory to the sons of Gruffydd ab Rhys; after these exploits he returned home to Aberfraw in triumph.

In the October of the same year, King John extorted hard terms from Prince [1] Gwenwynwyn, including hostages and vassalage, and subsequently released him from captivity, allowed him to return home, and constrained Llewelyn to make amends for the ravages committed on his property.

A.D. 1207. Maelgwn, encouraged by the restoration of Gwenwynwyn, went to King John, took an oath of allegiance as his feudatory, and returned home attended by a strong body of Norman and English mercenaries, to which he speedily added his Welsh levies, and commenced a fresh series of devastating warfare upon the lands of his nephews, the sons of Prince Gruffydd ab Rhys. Entering the cantref of Penwedig, he encamped at Cilcennin to gain time for consultation upon future operations. Prince Rhys and his brothers, at the head of 300 chosen

[1] Rymer's Fœdera, ed. 1704, t. i. pp. 150, 151.

men, ventured by night to reconnoitre the hostile camp, and ascertaining that the invaders had lain down to rest, they softly stole in among them, slew great numbers who were sleeping, and captured many important personages; but Maelgwn, defended by the valour of his native troops, escaped and fled through the darkness, being ignorant of the assailants' scanty number. CHAP. XIX.

In June 1209, King John, being under a papal interdict, and fearing that his vassals might avail themselves of the opportunity thus afforded them to defy his authority,[1] extorted compulsory homage from all his free tenants, and even from boys of twelve years of age; and the Welsh princes on this occasion came personally to Woodstock and performed the irksome ceremony.

In the month of June 1210,[2] King John marched through South Wales to Penbroch, and there embarked with his army for Ireland, and, on August 29 following, he returned to Penbroch on his homeward way.

About this time Gilbert de Clare, who had with great difficulty and loss of men acquired possession of Buallt, completed the fortifications of its castle. Within the same year died Maud de Breos, widow of Gruffydd ab Rhys, prince of Dehcubarth, and was buried in a monk's cowl by her husband's side at Ystrad Flûr.

The Norman castles built within the kingdom of Gwynedd were gradually destroyed in several expeditions by Llewelyn, and, in the year 1210, Ranulph, earl of Chester, rebuilt the fortress of Tyganwy upon the seashore eastward of the river Conwy, and strengthened that at Treffynon (Holywell); but the works were scarcely finished when Llewelyn again rushed forth to

[1] Roger of Wendover, A.D. 1209.

[2] Ibid. A.D. 1210; Annales Cambriæ; Brut y Tywysogion; Powel's Historie of Cambria; Wynne's History of Wales.

CHAP. XIX.

overthrow them, devastating and plundering in his course the lands they were erected to protect.

§ 5. A.D. 1211. Meanwhile, the displeasure which King John had long cherished against Prince Llewelyn increased more and more; and, urged by the ceaseless complaints of the Earl of Chester and the other Lords Marchers, who suffered from the reprisals, incursions, and acquisitions of the Cymric sovereign, the English monarch assembled a large army at Whitchurch,[1] to which he joined the forces of all those Welsh princes and nobles who held their lands directly of him, without the intervention of the sovereign of Gwynedd. Madog ab Gruffydd, prince of Powys Isaf, Gwenwynwyn, prince of Powys Uchaf, Maelgwyn and Rhys Fychan ab Rhys, princes of Deheubarth, and many other distinguished and powerful men, appeared among these native auxiliaries. King John declared his intention of exterminating the people of Gwynedd, and marched with his host from Chester along the sea coast to Rhuddlan; then crossing the river Clwyd, he halted awhile at the castle of Tyganwy.

Llewelyn had prepared for this emergency by removing the inhabitants of the exposed country with all their goods and cattle to Eryri, and the invading host having reached Tyganwy, he posted his forces so skilfully as to cut off all communication with England. Not a particle of food therefore could be sent into the English camp, nor a skirmisher or forager straggle from it without encountering the swords, lances, and arrows of dauntless foes, well acquainted with every step of the difficult and dangerous ground. The invaders being thus reduced to extreme want, constrained to eat their horses, and dying of famine in great numbers,

[1] Roger of Wendover, A.D. 1211.

King John at length yielded to circumstances and made a humiliating retreat. Nevertheless, in the month of July in the same year, he re-assembled his allies, and with an army as numerous as before entered Wales by way of Oswaldistre, that town being then under the rule of John Fitz Alan. Crossing the Berwyn range of mountains, and marching through the country by the aid of native guides, King John reached the river Conwy, and encamped upon its banks, while he sent forward a detachment of chosen troops to pillage and burn the town of Bangor. This order was fully executed, and Bishop Rotpert was captured, who afterwards obtained his liberty for a ransom of 200 hawks and a sum of money.

Llewelyn, perceiving himself to be out-generalled as well as out-numbered, sent his wife to intercede for him with her father, and having consequently received hostages for a safe-conduct, he came to the monarch, and, on August 7, made peace with him and did homage for his realm; but King John exacted from him 20,000 head of cattle and forty horses towards paying the expenses of the war, besides the cession of Yperfeddwlad, comprising the cantrefs of Rhyfyniog, Ystrad Rhos, Duffryn Clwyd, and Tegeingl. On the 15th John returned triumphantly to England, having secured the submission of all the Welsh princes excepting Rhys and Owen ab Gruffydd ab Rhys, and he left stringent orders with Fulk de Bréauté, warden of the Marches and viscount of Caerdiff, to assist Maelgwyn and Rhys Fychan in reducing those malcontents to subjection.

Thus commissioned, the viscount and his confederates entered the cantref of Penwedig; but the young princes, eager to avert the destruction involved in their uncle's mastery, immediately applied for a safe-

CHAP. XIX.

conduct, and obtaining it, promptly presented themselves before King John, resigned to him their lands lying between the rivers Aeron and Dyfi, did homage for the scanty territories which they retained, and accepted compensatory pensions to eke out their reduced means of maintenance.

Maelgwn no sooner found that his nephews Rhys and Owen ab Gruffydd had purchased the protection of King John, than he revolted and burned the castle of Aberystwyth together with the viscount's garrison. This served as a signal to Rhys and Owen for a series of predatory expeditions into Maelgwn's territories; while, in Morganwg, Cadwallawn, the district sovereign, arose also in rebellion, and committed various ravages upon obnoxious neighbours. King John, infuriated by these outrages, caused the [1] hostages of Maelgwn and those of Cadwallawn to be mutilated, and the son of Maelgwn consequently died. The news of the monarch's barbarous cruelty towards those innocent youths provoked a fresh outburst of Cymric indignation, and a devastating war again broke out along the whole extent of the border lands.

§ 6. The disregard of solemn oaths, which forms so prominent and so frightful a feature in the character of the Middle Ages, indicates the low state of political and personal morality naturally resulting from that shrouded, debased, and corrupt form of religion, which, forgetting the great truths and the spiritual objects of real Christianity, holds a priesthood and its president in superstitious reverence as a mediatorial and dispensing power; that priesthood and that president being practically and generally a visible example of time-serving worldliness.

[1] Roger of Wendover, A.D. 1211.

In the year 1212, Pope Innocent absolved from all fealty and allegiance to the King of England, the princes and nobles, and all other persons high and low, who had sworn to be that monarch's faithful vassals, and he added a threat of excommunication against all who either associated or held any sort of converse with him.

Encouraged by this interdict, Llewelyn summoned Gwenwynwyn, prince of Powys Uchaf, Gruffydd Maelor, prince of Powys Isaf, and Maredudd ab Rotpert, ruler of Cydewin, and eloquently stating the wrongs and miseries inflicted upon them by foreign domination, and the happiness which would attend deliverance from it, and their unanimous return to the native mode of government, he succeeded in arousing the patriot passion in their breasts, and received their oaths of submission and fidelity to himself as provincial king of Gwynedd and Brenhin Cymrû Oll. In accordance with this resolution, the martial strength of Gwynedd and Powys was mustered immediately for the common cause, and Llewelyn speedily won from the invaders every Norman castle in North Wales, excepting only Rhuddlan and Tyganwy, enriching the victors with abundant spoils, but slaughtering the garrisons with retaliative cruelty; then marching into Powys Uchaf, the army laid siege to the castle of Mathrafal, which Robert Vipont had lately fortified.

King John, enraged at the news of this formidable insurrection, levied an army with the avowed intention of exterminating the Welsh nation, and, on arriving at Nottingham,[1] before he either ate or drank, he ordered the twenty-eight royal Welsh children, whom he held as hostages, to be hung on gibbets, in revenge

[1] Roger of Wendover, A.D. 1212; Florence of Worcester, 2nd continuation.

CHAP. XIX.

for their fathers' breach of faith towards him. Letters from the Queen of Gwynedd, his daughter, and from the King of Scotland reached him on the same day, warning him that, if he persisted in this war, he would either be treacherously slain by his own nobles, or delivered by them into the hands of his enemies. Dismayed at this information, he shut himself up for a fortnight in Nottingham Castle, and then, recovering from his terror, marched onward with his army to Chester, where, alarmed by renewed warnings, he disbanded his forces. His advance, however, had caused the Welsh princes to raise the siege of Mathrafal.

A special and direct communication from the Pope[1] to the Welsh princes, confirming the release of their tributary oaths, and urging them, under the penalty of his curse, to annoy and trouble King John to the uttermost, appears at this time to have animated their efforts, and to have caused the dispirited subjects of that monarch to yield up to Llewelyn the five cantrefs of Yperfeddwlad and the strong castles of Rhuddlan and Tyganwy.

On May 13, 1213,[2] King John submitted himself to the Papal Legate, and was restored to the favour of the Pope, who vainly expected that the warfare which he had stirred up for the furtherance of his own ambitious designs would instantly cease at his bidding.

In the course of the same year, Rhys ab Gruffydd ab Rhys appealed to King John against the injustice of his uncles, Maelgwn and Rhys Fychan, who had deprived him and Owen his brother of their inheritance.

[1] Brut y Tywysogion, A.D. 1212; Powel's Historie of Cambria; Waverley Annals, quoted by Woodward in his History of Wales, part ii. p. 354, A.D. 1212.

[2] Roger of Wendover; Rymer's Fœdera, ed. 1707, t. i. p. 170.

King John sent orders to Fulk, viscount of Cardiff and warden of the Marches, to render military aid to the young princes, which was so effectually done, that Rhys Fychan, being captured and sent to England, his nephews obtained possession of the cantref Mawr.

§ 7. A. D. 1214. The English barons being in arms against King John,[1] entered into a confederacy with Llewelyn to defy at once the tyranny of the monarch and that of the Pope. In the following year, the King of Gwynedd and his tributaries seized upon the town of Shrewsbury, and, proceeding into South Wales, successively took and destroyed the castles of Caerfyrddin, Llanstephan, St. Clair, and Talacharn. In the same career of conquest he possessed himself of the castles of Emlyn, Cemaes, Trefdraeth, Aberteifi, and Cilgerran, and returned triumphantly to his home.

In the same year (A. D. 1215), the King of Gwynedd revisited South Wales as paramount sovereign, and settled by arbitration the territorial disputes of the native princes of that province. On the way back again he was surprised by the news that Gwenwynwyn had broken the national league, and renewed his oaths of allegiance to King John. Llewelyn promptly sent some friendly ecclesiastics to remonstrate with the Prince of Powys Uchaf, but their intervention proving fruitless, the indignant King of Cymrû Oll led an army into Gwenwynwyn's territory, and ravaged it with fire and sword, while the recreant fled for refuge to Ranulph, earl of Chester, and not long afterwards died.

A few years before, Matilda de Breos and her eldest son William had been famished to death in Windsor Castle, and the flagitious William de Breos, her hus-

[1] Annales Cambriæ, A.D. 1214; Brut y Tywysogion, A.D. 1215; Powel's Historie of Cambria.

CHAP. XIX.

band, had died an exile in France. The surviving sons, Giles, bishop of Hereford, and Reginald, had secured for themselves out of their father's possessions Brycheiniog, with Aberhonddu, Hay, Buallt, and Blaenllynfi, besides Abergavenny, Grosmont, and the Isle of Cynwric; but, to strengthen their position, they permitted Payne's Castle and Colunwy, with the district of Elfel, to continue in the hands of Walter Fychan ab Eineon Clyd, the native ruler.

On the death of Giles de Breos, bishop of Hereford, November 17, 1215, Reginald his brother inherited the greater part of the Welsh acquisitions of the family, and Llewelyn, king of Gwynedd, gave him one of his daughters in marriage, intending thus to secure the adherence of a powerful subordinate. About this time, also, Llewelyn raised Iorwerth, otherwise called Gervase, and Cadwgan, two Cymric abbots, to the respective sees of St. David's and Bangor.

A.D. 1216. King John, being a fugitive from the host of Louis, the Dauphin of France, and arriving in the Marches of Wales, sent from Hereford to solicit the friendly aid of Reginald de Breos and of Llewelyn. They refused to listen to his repeated overtures, and in revenge he destroyed upon his march the castles of Hay and Radnor, and burned the town of Oswestry, passing thence to England.

This vacillating yet ferocious man died[1] at Newark, October 19, 1216, and was succeeded upon the tottering throne of England by his son Henry III., a child ten years of age.

A.D. 1217.[2] At this time the Baron Reginald de Breos gave in

[1] Roger of Wendover; Nicolas, Chronology of History.

[2] Annales Cambriæ; Brut y Tywysogion; Powel's Historie of Cambria; Wynne's History of Wales.

his adherence to the regency of England. His sister's sons, Rhys and Owen ab Gruffydd, immediately took arms and wrested from his possession the whole cantref of Buallt, with the sole exception of the castle, which his vassals stoutly defended.

Llewelyn no sooner became aware of Reginald's defection than he marched with an army into Brycheiniog, and laid siege to Aberhonddu. The intercession of Prince Rhys ab Gruffydd, however, induced the angry King of Gwynedd to accept five hostages and a fine of 100 marks from the burgesses, and to spare the town. Llewelyn crossed the mountain range and arrived in Gwyr with the loss of much baggage; and, while he lay encamped at Llangrug, Reginald de Breos, accompanied by six knights, came to him peaceably and asked forgiveness for his late breach of faith. Llewelyn gently and freely granted it, and, as a proof of renewed favour and undiminished confidence, gave him the castle of [1] Sengennydd, which his son-in-law consigned forthwith to the care of Rhys Fychan.

Llewelyn passed on in martial array to Cefn Cynwarchan, whither the Flemings sent emissaries to meet him with proposals of peace. This he refused to grant, and Prince Rhys ab Gruffydd, whose forces were acting in concert with those of the King of Gwynedd, was the first man who crossed the river Cleddau to lead the attack; but Iorwerth, the native bishop of St. David's, at the head of all his clergy, solemnly interposed, and at length prevailed upon Llewelyn to accept the unconditional surrender of the colonists to his regal authority, upon the delivery of twenty hostages as security for the payment of 1,000 marks to defray the expenses of his expedition. Llewelyn then returned

[1] Afterwards called Caerphilly.

CHAP. XIX.

home as the acknowledged Brenhin Cymru Oll; but he did not long maintain that title, and throughout the correspondence which took place concerning Welsh affairs during the reign of Henry III., he is uniformly styled either prince of North Wales, or prince of Aberffraw and lord of Snowdon.

§ 8. The revolted barons having submitted themselves to William, earl of Pembroke, the grand marshal and regent of England, included in their treaty of reconciliation the kings of Scotland and Gwynedd, upon condition that they should restore to the English crown all places which they had acquired during the war. This article directly contravened the arrangements which had existed between Llewelyn and the barons; but their promises made in a time of need were readily sacrificed to expediency, and they added their forces to those of the regent with the intention of crushing down once more the elastic springs of Cymric independence.

The regent opened the campaign by seizing upon Caerleon, and Rhys Fychan, foreseeing the impossibility of making an effectual defence, immediately razed the castle of Sengennydd to the ground, together with all the other castles of the country which had been confided to his custody; and expelling all the Norman and English colonists, he divided the lands between a stalwart set of his own countrymen, whose posterity are said still to possess them now in the nineteenth century.

On March 11, 1218,[1] under a guarantee of safe-conduct, Llewelyn attended at Worcester and swore, upon certain relics, to restore the castles and lands in South Wales which had formerly belonged to King

[1] Woodward's History of Wales, part ii. pp. 362, 363; Rymer's Fœdera, ed. 1704, t. i. pp. 224–227.

John, and to do his best to bring all the Welsh rulers to pay their homage to King Henry. These and other stipulations were embodied in a deed which Llewelyn signed and sealed; and another deed, executed at the same time, declared that he had received from Gualo de St. Martin, the papal legate, the lands of the late Gwenwynwyn, prince of Powys Uchaf, in trust until the heirs should come of age, on condition of making meanwhile a competent provision for them and for the widow.

At the close of Easter in the same year, Llewelyn went to Gloucester, received absolution from the papal legate, formally accepted the terms of the obnoxious treaty which the barons had made, took the oath of fealty to King Henry, and did homage for Gwynedd.

By a subsequent deed, the humiliated sovereign accepted the office of bailiff of the castles of Caerfyrddin and Caerdigan, and engaged to hold a law court in that capacity at those castles respectively, and to administer English law to the English, and Welsh law to the Welsh population of those districts; while Maelgwn ab Rhys, Rhys ab Gruffydd, and Maredudd ab Rotpert swore to see that all these promises were duly performed.

In these arrangements some respect was evidently paid to the King of Gwynedd's pride of suzerainty, for he was permitted to act as an intermediate power between the supreme monarch of Britain and the sovereign princes of Deheubarth and Powys.

In October, 1218, Llewelyn was put in possession of the town of [1]Budiford, in the county of Warwick, as a part of the dowry of Joan his wife. The friendly feelings which subsisted between this princess and her half-brother King Henry, and her frequent visits to the

[1] Rymer's Fœdera, ed. 1704, t. i. p. 227.

CHAP. XIX.

English court, caused a favourable construction to be put sometimes upon the daring actions of her husband, and procured for him a leniency of judgment and a degree of practical forbearance which could scarcely have been otherwise obtained from a Plantagenet, although she so far succeeded in restraining the fierce temper of Llewelyn that he generally abstained, even while indulging his wrath against the Lords Marchers, from an avowed defiance of the King of England's supremacy.

In March, 1219,[1] death relaxed the vigorous hand of the Regent and Grand Marshal William, earl of Pembroke, and the direction of English affairs devolved upon Hubert de Burgh and Peter de Rupibus, bishop of Winchester. The second William Marshal manifested a will as inflexible as his father's in defence of his Welsh territories; and disagreements soon occurred between him with the other Lords Marchers on his side and the native princes, although, within the same year, Rhys Fychan had married a daughter of the Earl of Clare, and John de Breos, a nephew of Reginald, had married Marred, a daughter of Llewelyn ab Iorwerth, thus attempting to strengthen by affinity the ties of amity.

On May 1, 1220, [2]Llewelyn and his son Dafydd, under the safe-conduct of Fulk de Bréauté, met the King of England at Shrewsbûry. The chief objects sought by that monarch's advisers in this interview appear to have been the King of Gwynedd's resignation of Maeleinydd to Henry of Aldithel, and his renewed

[1] Roger of Wendover.

[2] Royal and other Historical Letters illustrative of the Reign of Henry III., edited by Dr. Shirley for the Record Com., vol. i. No. 95, p. 113; Rymer's Fœdera, ed. 1704, t. i. p. 239.

promise to observe a truce with the Earl of Pembroke and the other Lords Marchers until after the feast of St. Michael. CHAP. XIX.

In July, Rhys Fychan was peremptorily charged to give up to Llewelyn, on. King Henry's behalf, all the castles and lands which he had acquired during the last war, and also to hold himself in readiness to do homage whenever he might be summoned. This prince, long known as [1]Rhys Fychan (the Younger), had now a grown up son to whom the designation Fychan more properly belonged, and consequently a personal peculiarity of voice is made from about this period a descriptive appellation of the ambitious, turbulent, and valiant son of Prince Rhys, the lord justiciary of King Henry II., and he is commonly called Rhys Gryg (the Hoarse). Llewelyn had long [2]complained to the king of injuries done to him by the settlers in Penbroch, and in August, 1220, he marched with an army into that district and exacted his own terms from the offenders.

Buallt Castle,[3] which belonged to Reginald de Breos, was besieged by the local chieftains, and Llewelyn with his forces had joined the assailants about September 8, when King Henry complied with the Lord Marcher's earnest entreaty, and led an army to raise the siege. This being done, the English monarch proceeded to make a marauding progress through Powys, until arriving at Montgomery a site was pointed out to him by his advisers as impregnable, and he gave orders that a castle should immediately be built there. Leaving only sufficient men to protect the works he A.D. 1221.

[1] Resus Parvus.
[2] Rymer's Fœdera, ed. 1704, t.i. p. 249, 250.
[3] Roger of Wendover.

CHAP. XIX.

then returned home, and allowed his nobles and their vassals to depart on payment of two silver marks for each shield.

§ 9. Gruffydd,[1] the son of Llewelyn's first marriage, having grown up to manhood, his father assigned to him Rhos in Gwynedd, his maternal heritage; together with the districts of Tegeingl, Rhyfoniog, and Dyffryn Clwyd, that his valour and military skill might defend them alike from open attacks and insidious encroachments.

Not content, however, with the provision thus made for him, the young prince seized upon Meirionydd, and persisted in holding it in defiance of paternal authority. Llewelyn marched thither with his forces, and found that Gruffydd had already taken the field and stood prepared to maintain his claim. A battle commenced, but, before any advantage had been gained on either side, the heart of the rebellious son relented, and he craved mercy and forgiveness. Llewelyn granted both, but exacted absolute submission.

Rhys ab Gruffydd, hereditary sovereign of Deheubarth, had anxiously desired to regain the possession of Aberteifi Castle, and Llewelyn had promised to gratify that wish; but, still delaying its fulfilment, he wore out the patience of Rhys, who became so entirely alienated that, about this period, he openly attached himself to William, earl of Pembroke. Llewelyn no sooner heard of this defection than he seized upon Aberystwyth Castle with the adjacent territory. Rhys promptly appealed in person to the King of England against this flagrant wrong, and the monarch summoned Llewelyn to appear before him at Shrewsbury in June,

[1] Brut y Tywysogion, A.D. 1221; Powel's Historie of Cambria; Wynne's History of Wales.

and there effected a reconciliation on condition that Llewelyn should make compensation to Rhys for withholding Aberteifi, as he had already done to Maelgwn for Caerfyrddin.

In the course of the following winter, John de Breos, who had married one of Llewelyn's daughters, obtained his father-in-law's permission to fortify the castle of Senghennydd.

In 1222,[1] died Rhys ab Gruffydd, the hereditary sovereign of Deheubarth. He was buried with his forefathers at Ystrad Flûr, and deeply mourned by his countrymen. Llewelyn, still acting by sufferance or permission as Brenhin Cymru Oll, divided the possessions of Rhys between Owen the brother and Maelgwn, a paternal uncle of the deceased prince.

In the June of the same year, royal commissioners took possession of the Welsh castles of Reginald de Breos on behalf of King Henry, with the obvious intention of saving them from the attack of the native princes.

§ 10. In March 1223, Llewelyn besieged and took the castles of Kinardsley and Whittington; but his operations were checked, and he was constrained to abandon those fortresses by the advance of King Henry to Shrewsbury. It may be inferred from subsequent circumstances, that the king dismissed Llewelyn from the office of keeping the castles of Caerfyrddin and Aberteifi, and commended them to the custody of the earl marshal, for the seizure of those castles by the Flemish colonists, who were the retainers of that nobleman, appears to have provoked that fierce southern foray of the following month, in which Llewelyn took both those castles[2] and beheaded the garrisons, razed

[1] Annales Cambriæ, A.D. 1220. [2] Roger of Wendover.

CHAP. XIX.

the castle of Gwys, burned the town of Haverford to its castle gates, devastated Rhos and Daucleddau with fire and sword, and granted exemption from injury to the townsmen of Penbroch at the price of 200 marks.

A.D. 1223.

He had scarcely reached home for the Easter holidays, when the Earl of Pembroke,[1] hastily returning from Ireland, entered upon a series of savage retaliations, retaking the castles, slaughtering not only Llewelyn's garrisons but all the Welshmen whom he captured, and carrying fire and sword on his march through the territories which that prince had previously acquired in South Wales.

The indignant King of Gwynedd mustered all his forces, which marched southward to check the progress of the destroyer. A pitched battle was fought at Caerfyrddin. According to Roger[2] of Wendover, it ended in the defeat of the Welsh, and their loss by death or capture of 9,000 men: according to the Cymraeg chronicles, the conflict was prolonged until the darkness of night parted the combatants, when both armies withdrew and encamped upon opposite sides of the river Towy, continuing there until, after the lapse of several days, provisions failed, and the Cymric army retreated to the north, while the earl led his forces to Cilgerran, and began to build a new castle there.

In the month of September[3] Llewelyn, at the head of an army, again attempted the capture of Buallt Castle, and was again constrained to raise the siege by the advance of the English monarch and his host. King Henry proceeded to Montgomery and pressed forward

[1] Annales Cambriæ, A.D. 1221; Brut y Tywysogion, A.D. 1223; Powel's Historie of Cambria; Wynne's History of Wales.

[2] A.D. 1223.

[3] Rymer's Fœdera, ed. 1704, pp. 261, 262.

the works of his new castle there with so much vigour, that Llewelyn found himself unable to avoid submission, and therefore [1]promised in writing, and bound himself by an oath, to make compensation for all the injuries which he had inflicted upon the English from the capture of Kinardsley Castle to October 8, on which day he received absolution from the Archbishop of Canterbury. Maredudd ab Rotpert, Rotpert ab Madog, Maelgwn ab Rhŷs, Rhys Gryg, Madog ab Gruffydd Maelor, and Elis ab Madog were sureties for the King of Gwynedd upon this occasion, and the time fixed for restitution was February 3, 1224. In the course of that year the fortifications at Montgomery were completed, but the consent of King Henry was given to repeated postponements of Llewelyn's promised acts of restitution, and the monarch strictly enjoined the observation[2] of peace between his choleric brother in-law and the Earl of Pembroke. About the end of July, [3]Llewelyn, having been rebuked by Henry for harbouring Fulke de Bréauté, an exiled baron, haughtily replied, 'He did not stay one whole day with me; and, if he had done so, I have a right to receive your outlaws, for I am as independent as the King of Scots.'

In order to exercise over the Welsh princes and people the controlling influence of superstitious fear, the English Government had obtained from Pope Honorius III. a letter, [4]dated October 5, 1223, addressed to the Archbishop of York and his suffragans, ordering them to place an interdict upon the lands of Llewelyn; and

[1] Woodward's History of Wales, part ii. pp. 368, 369.
[2] Rymer's Fœdera, ed. 1704, t. i. p. 267.
[3] Royal and other Historical Letters illustrative of the Reign of Henry III., Record Com., edited by Dr. Shirley, vol. i. No. 201, p. 220.
[4] Ibid. No. 191, p. 212.

CHAP. XIX.

probably the submission of Llewelyn at that time averted the evil. Nevertheless, the same Pope issued a bull of excommunication against Llewelyn, and laid all Wales under an interdict, [1]October 5, 1225, ostensibly as a punishment for his wars against the King of England and the Earl of Pembroke.

A.D. 1228.[2] Hubert de Burgh,[2] the chief justiciary of England, held the new castle at Montgomery, and maintained a strong garrison there; but the wild forest, which extended fifteen miles around it, afforded lurking-places to the Cymry, who lost no opportunity of assailing the interlopers whenever they risked themselves slightly armed, or in small parties, beyond the impregnable walls.

The castellan determined, therefore, to cut down so many of the trees as to form a wide glade for the safe passage of comers and goers; and, in fulfilment of this design, the month of August saw the knights and men-at-arms come forth in the pride of their power to share, to direct, and overlook the labours of the enslaved natives of the district. The chieftains of the neighbourhood, who watched these proceedings, soon issued from their ambush, attacked the English, and, after some bloodshed on both sides, drove them back into the castle, opened a trench, and straitly besieged it. The garrison, however, sent tidings of their distress to Earl Hubert, who promptly brought King Henry and his army to their relief. The Cymry then raised the siege, and large reinforcements arriving from England, the monarch employed his troops in the tedious and difficult work of felling, stocking, burning, destroying, and extirpating the thick and tangled forest of the place.

[1] Rymer's Fœdera, ed. 1704, t. i. pp. 282–283.
[2] Roger of Wendover.

CHAP. XIX.

In accomplishing this task, the king and his army passed into the vale of Ceri,[1] where a monastery of White Monks, which had been invested by the forest, was reputed to be used by the Cymry as a place of deposit for the spoils of war. Henry, therefore, ordered that the sacred edifice, together with the adjacent buildings and their contents, should be reduced to ashes. This having been done, Earl Hubert suggested that the site would render a castle impregnable, and King Henry gave directions that one should be built there. The army, therefore, was encamped around the spot and the soldiers were immediately employed in the execution of this project.

Meanwhile Llewelyn with his forces hovered about, watching every movement of the invaders, cutting off their foraging parties, intercepting their convoys, and skirmishing advantageously against unwary detachments. William, eldest son and heir of the deceased Lord Marcher Reginald de Breos, was made prisoner in one of these engagements, although large divisions of the rival armies had taken the field in aid of their respective skirmishers.

The stately height of the castle walls proved to be the only successful result of three months' residence at Ceri. Many of the English soldiers had fallen by the weapons of the Cymry, famine was daily destroying many more, and King Henry had reason to believe that several of his attendant nobles held disloyal communication with his Cymric foes. He was consequently reduced to the humiliating alternative of utter ruin, or the acceptance of peace from Llewelyn. That sovereign courteously visited the troubled monarch and

[1] Annales Cambriæ, A.D. 1225; Brut y Tywysogion, A.D. 1228; Powel's Historie of Cambria; Wynne's History of Wales.

CHAP. XIX.

agreed to pay him a sum of money for the materials of the castle of Ceri, on condition that the structure should be pulled down and razed to the earth at the cost of the builder. This having been done, the King of England and his diminished host returned home bootless, baffled, and ashamed.

Under the date of March 15, 1229,[1] a letter is extant from Henry III., ordering the Vice-count of Lancaster to send twelve of the Banaster Welshmen to show why they claim immunity from taillage. This evidently indicates the continued existence of a Cymric community in that county.

William de Breos, whose high birth, handsome person, and chivalrous accomplishments rendered him conspicuous, was left a prisoner in Llewelyn's hands, and subsequently ransomed for 3,000 marks; the price which the King of England had hoped to receive in money from the King of Gwynedd. In May 1230, this nobleman had put himself a second time into Llewelyn's power when he was found secreted in the apartment of Llewelyn's wife; and that sovereign, acting under the advice of his council, punished the stately lord marcher with a felon's death, [2]causing him in open day to be hung upon a tree, in the presence of 800 spectators. Within the same year, Maelgwn ab Rhys passed away from the scene of his turbulent ambition, and left his lands to his son Maelgwn Fychan. Not long afterwards, Dafydd[3] ab Llewelyn married

[1] Royal and other Historical Letters illustrative of the Reign of Henry III. vol. i. No. 286, p. 349.

[2] Ibid. No. 303, p. 365, and No. 306, p. 369; Roger of Wendover, A.D. 1230; Annales Cambriæ, A.D. 1227; Brut y Tywysogion, A.D. 1230.

[3] Royal and other Historical Letters illustrative of the Reign of Henry III. vol. i. No. 305, p. 368, and No. 306, p. 369; Rymer's Fœdera, ed. 1704, t. i. p. 311.

Isabella de Breos, and received as her dowry the cantref of Buallt. The King of England allowed an annual stipend to this young prince in the hope of attaching him to his person and government. CHAP. XIX.

The death of the second William Marshal, earl of Pembroke, in [1]April 1231, encouraged the native princes again to take arms. They had overrun and devastated the territories of De Breos, when the approach of King Henry caused the dispersion of the insurgents; but, after the monarch's withdrawal, Hubert de Burgh, earl of Kent, the chief justiciary of England, having received especial charge of the possessions of the young Earl of Gloucester, remained with a strong force within his western territories, ready to protect the Marches. Henry's departure was the signal to the Welsh for the renewal of their predatory warfare. They ravaged in all directions the lands of their oppressors, and so greatly provoked the garrison of Montgomery Castle, that the English knights sallied forth, slew and captured great numbers of the natives, and delivered up the prisoners to the lord justiciary. He immediately ordered the heads of all those prisoners to be struck off, and to be sent as an acceptable present to his royal master.

This heinous deed revived the avenging and reckless wrath of Llewelyn, and set him in his own false opinion free from the restraint of all former oaths of fealty. He rushed forth with his military followers like a destroying thunder-storm and flood upon the Marches, and Earl Hubert fled before him, while with indiscriminating fury he slaughtered and burned up all that lay in his way, castles and garrisons, churches and A.D. 1231.

[1] Roger of Wendover, A.D. 1231——.

CHAP. XIX.

ecclesiastics, with the women and children who sought refuge in the sanctuaries.

The fortresses of Maesyfed, Brycheiniog, Rhayadar Gwy, Caerleon, Nêdd, and Cydweli were reduced to ashes, but strong resistance was offered at Caerleon by Morgan ab Howel, the native prince, who was confederate with the English. The castle of Aberhonddu and some other castles proved too strong for him, but towns and districts around them were consumed and devastated.

Terrified at the news of this fearful vengeance, King Henry, not content with assembling a large army at Oxford in the month of July, held a convocation there of all the nobles, clergy, and people of the realm, and caused the bishops and other prelates of the church, in his presence, publicly to denounce the sacrilegious deeds of the insurgents, and to [1]excommunicate Llewelyn and his adherents. Reassured by this ceremony, the monarch led his army to Hereford, sending forward a strong detachment to reinforce the garrison of Montgomery Castle, which was at that time beleaguered by Llewelyn, who lay encamped with his men among the morasses of the river Hafren and its tributaries. The Welsh sovereign was a liberal benefactor to the Cistercian abbey of Llanilltyd (Cwmhir), and is said to have employed one of its monks in conveying false information to the governor and knights of Montgomery Castle, who being thus misled were induced to attack and to pursue a party of retreating troops, until plunging into a swamp the fugitives turned upon them, and made so great a slaughter that few of the English were able to regain the shelter of their fortress. King Henry

[1] Royal and other Historical Letters illustrative of the Reign of Henry III. vol. i. No. 328, p. 400; Annales Cambriæ, A.D. 1231.

punished the treachery of the monk by plundering the monastery and burning its grange; but the abbot, at the price of 300 marks, succeeded in rescuing the abbey from destruction.

Military architecture constituted the usual occupation of the early Plantagenet kings when they marched into Wales, and Henry, now finding no other employment for his men, caused them to labour for three months in restoring and strengthening the castle of [1]Matilda in Elfel. Leaving a good garrison there, he returned to England in the month of October, Llewelyn agreeing to a [2]truce upon terms advantageous to both parties.

A.D. 1231. While these events were passing, Maelgwn ab Maelgwn occupied himself in besieging the castle of Aberteifi. He burned the adjacent town and slew the inhabitants, but the fortress offered a successful resistance until Owen ab Gruffyd ab Rhys, with his martial followers and some of the Prince of Aberfraw's troops, came to his asistance, and by means of engines and mines reduced it to ruin.

Notwithstanding the truce, the Cymry were again engaged in active hostilities against the Lords Marchers during the month of February, 1232. Soon after Whitsuntide[3] in that year, Llewelyn, in retaliation of injuries received, made a fierce irruption into the Welsh lands of the Lords Marchers, and returned home laden with spoils. King Henry used this incident as a pretext for levying an exorbitant subsidy in England to enable him to chastise the Welsh. Giving himself up to the influence of Peter, bishop of Winchester, at this period, he deprived the Earl of Kent of the office of chief

[1] Otherwise called Payne's Castle.
[2] Rymer's Fœdera, ed. 1704, t. i. pp. 319, 320, 321.
[3] Roger of Wendover.

CHAP. XIX.

justiciary, and appointed Stephen de Segrave as his successor. Among the charges made against the fallen favourite was one which strongly marks the superstition of the age and the terror struck into the hearts of King Henry and his barons by the martial prowess of the King of Gwynedd, for it accused Earl Hubert of having furtively taken from the monarch's treasury a certain jewel possessing the virtue of rendering its wearer invincible in battle, and of traitorously sending that jewel to Llewelyn.

A.D. 1232. Negotiations[1] were soon afterwards opened between Henry and Llewelyn, and, toward the close of July, they met at Shrewsbury, where commissioners, appointed to examine the causes of dissension, prolonged their work after the kings had met and parted; but early in the following December suggested an amicable arrangement, involving restitution and reparation on both sides, and especially providing that Isabella de Breos should be put into possession of a portion of her deceased father's lands, on condition that Dafydd ab Llewelyn, her husband, performed feudal service for it to King Henry.

A.D. 1233.[2] King Henry, under the evil guidance of Peter, bishop of Winchester, had now made some progress in a course of extortion, cruelty, and oppressive injustice towards his English nobles; and Richard, earl of Pembroke, the earl marshal, having come up to London to attend a conference royally convoked, was warned by his sister (the widow of De Clare, earl of Gloucester, and wife of Richard, earl of Cornwall, the king's brother) of Henry's rapacious intentions, and of the enmity of the favourite counsellors. He consequently took horse at

[1] Rymer's Fœdera, ed. 1704, t. i. pp. 325, 327, 328, 329.

[2] Roger of Wendover.

once, August 1, 1233, and never drew the rein until he reached Welsh ground. On October 30 he was joined there by the Earl of Kent, recently escaped from prison and from imminent danger of death; and other English noblemen soon followed them. These injured and proscribed peers entered into a confederacy with Llewelyn, and with the Princes of South Wales, all binding themselves by solemn oaths not to make any separate peace with King Henry.[1] Richard the earl marshal and Owen ab Gruffydd ab Rhys marched with their united forces to St. David's, where they slew all King Henry's people and obtained rich spoils. The bishop of that see, Anselm le Gros, had provoked this attack by his active co-operation with the Bishop of Winchester. Being joined by Maelgwn ab Maelgwn and Rhys Gryg, the Earl Marshal proceeded to seize by force of arms upon the castles of Caerdiff, Abergavenny, Pengelly, and Bwlch y Dinas, razing them all excepting Caerdiff to the ground.

Llewelyn at this period was again employed in ravaging Brycheiniog and destroying the castles of that district. After a month's siege he failed to take the castle of Aberhonddu, but he burned and pillaged the adjacent town; and, on his homeward march, he burned the town of Clun, recalled the inhabitants of Duffryn Tyfoidiat to their allegiance, overthrew Castell Coch in Powys, burned the town of Oswestry, and satiated himself with blood and plunder.

King Henry, alarmed at the consequences of his own misdeeds, assembled a large army at Gloucester, composed almost wholly of foreign mercenaries, and marched to Hereford; which Roger of Wendover, like all other persons of his time, considered to be a part

[1] Annales Cambriæ, A.D. 1233; Brut y Tywysogion, A.D. 1233.

CHAP. XIX.

of Wales. That city belonged to the Earl Marshal, by whose orders all supplies of cattle and other provisions had been withdrawn; and the King in consequence found it expedient to turn aside to Grosmont, where he lodged within the castle, while his army encamped around the walls. Remaining thus for a few days, the king and his host were unconscious that the proscribed nobles and the Welsh princes had cautiously advanced into the neighbourhood.

Nov. 11, 1233. The Earl Marshal refused to take part in any direct attack upon the monarch; but the other English nobles with their Welsh confederates, upon the dusky night of Martinmas Day, poured their troops into the quiet camp, surprised their sleeping enemies but spared their lives, and neither attempting to inflict wounds nor to make prisoners, contented themselves with carrying off all the clothes, arms, and equipments, together with several hundred horses, and all the waggons and carts laden with provisions and military stores. The invaders being thus left destitute and almost naked, the Earl of Norfolk, the Earl of Salisbury, William Beauchamp, William Daubeney the Younger, and all those who possessed English homes, forthwith deserted and fled; while King Henry appointed Poictevin freebooters to supersede the garrisons which still held out for him in Wales, restored the castle of Matilda to Ralph de Thoeny, and committed to that nobleman, conjointly with John of Monmouth, the command of his forces. Having made these arrangements, the baffled King of England returned to Gloucester.

Baldwin de Guisnes had charge of the castle of Monmouth, and when the Earl Marshal, attended only by a hundred knights, turned aside one day from the allied forces on the march and reconnoitred that fortress,

the lively Poictevin immediately summoned a thousand of his men, sallied forth with them fully equipped upon the astonished earl, and attacked his little band with great impetuosity, attempting to make them prisoners. Earl Richard prolonged the fight by performing extraordinary acts of valour, and he was at length relieved from the perilous contest by the approach of the allied forces. This incident provoked the deadly hatred of the confederates against all the Poictevin garrisons, and whenever they fell in with the royal foraging parties they attacked and slaughtered them without mercy until the atmosphere of the country became tainted by foreign corpses.

At a conference held at Margam Abbey between Agnell, a brother of the Minorite order, on behalf of King Henry and the Earl Marshal, the latter justifying himself from charges of disloyalty and rebellion, and confederacy with the king's enemies, emphatically answered: "As[1] regards the French, this is clearly false. The statement as regards the Scotch and Welsh is also false: except as regards the King of Scotland and Llewelyn the Welsh prince, they were not enemies but faithful lieges of his, until by injuries inflicted on them by the king and his counsellors, they were unwillingly obliged, like myself, to withdraw from their allegiance to him; and it is for this purpose that I have formed an alliance with these princes, namely, that we can better when united, than divided, contend for and defend those rights of which we have been unjustly deprived, and in a great measure robbed."

This conference took place on the Thursday before Christmas, and it ended in the earl's declining to enter

[1] Roger of Wendover, Giles's translation, Bohn's ed. 1849, vol. i. p. 579.

CHAP. XIX.

into any arrangement without the concurrence of his allies.

[1]The next notable enterprise of the confederates was the siege of Caerfyrddin Castle, which together with the town was manfully defended, until, at the end of three months, the King of England's ships threw in supplies of all necessary things, and the siege was consequently raised.

Rhys Gryg died soon afterwards at Llandeilo Fawr, and was buried by his father's side at St. David's.

The winter set in with intense rigour, nevertheless John of Monmouth, warden of the Marches, mustered a large army, intending to surprise the earl marshal; but he, being informed of this manœuvre, placed his troops in a wood, through which lay his adversary's line of march. Unaware of this ambuscade, and intent upon effecting his own purpose, a sudden clang of trumpets and horns struck the warden and his men with panic, and they fled, while the earl and his army pursued them closely, made many prisoners, and slew great numbers of the fugitives. Following up this advantage, the earl burned the homesteads and villages belonging to John of Monmouth, pillaged and plundered the whole district, and returned home laden with booty, and driving off large herds of cattle.

In the week after the Epiphany of the year 1234, Llewelyn and the Earl Marshal united their forces and carried fire and sword through the Welsh Marches, destroying all before them in their way to Shrewsbury, and, after burning that town, returning laden with spoils to their respective homes. At the news of this inroad, King Henry, unable to defend the border lands,

[1] Annales Cambriæ, A.D. 1233; Brut y Tywysogion, A.D. 1233; Roger of Wendover, A.D. 1234.

withdrew from Gloucester to Winchester, but, by means of his evil counsellors, commotions were soon afterwards stirred up in Ireland, which called for the earl's presence there to rescue his territories from the grasp of the king's greedy and treacherous agents. CHAP. XIX.

A change of policy, however, was forced at this time upon Henry, and among the conciliatory measures which formed a part of it, an embassy, consisting of the Archbishop of Canterbury and the Bishops of Chester and Rochester, was sent into Wales, empowered to offer terms of peace to Llewelyn and to the Earl Marshal. The king, being at Woodstock, heard of Earl Richard's death in Ireland, and hastened eagerly to Gloucester to meet the returning ambassadors, who reported that the Prince of Aberfraw would agree to a peace provided the exiled and proscribed English nobles with whom he was allied should at once be restored to the monarch's favour. A.D. 1234.

The King of England accordingly issued letters summoning those nobles to meet him in council at Gloucester, on the Sunday before Ascension Day (May 27), there and then to receive a full pardon, and the restitution of their several estates. The nobles duly attended: Hubert de Burgh, the Bassets, Richard Siward, and their adherents, were formally re-instated in their rights and privileges; Gilbert, earl of Pembroke, did homage as his brother's heir, and a few days afterwards he received his knightly belt, and the official wand of office as hereditary earl marshal. After these preliminaries, Llewelyn consented to a truce of two years with England.

Two thousand Welshmen who, under English leaders, formed a part of the expedition to Brittany in the following June, were probably raised from the districts of A.D. 1234.

CHAP. XIX.

South Wales, which owned direct subjection to the English Crown.

The year 1235 was a quiet year in Wales, marked only by the death of Owen ab [1]Gruffydd ab Rhys, who was buried by the side of his brother Rhys at Ystrad Flûr.

The following year was likewise quiet, and in it died the wise and good Madog ab Gruffydd Maelor, prince of Lower Powys. He was buried in the abbey of Llanegwest (Vale Crucis), which he had founded, and Gruffydd his son inherited his territories.

A.D. 1236. It may here be mentioned that, at the coronation[2] of Eleanor, wife of King Henry III., John Fitz Alan, Ralph Mortimer, John de Monmouth, and Walter de Clifford maintained their right, as lords marchers of Wales, to furnish each a silver spear to support the square canopy of purple silk, used at the coronation of the kings and queens of England.

In the spring of the year 1237 died Joan, the wife of Llewelyn. She was buried at Llanfaes, on the sea-shore of Mona, and her husband built a friars' house over her grave. Within the same year,[3] distressed by the hostile deeds of his son Gruffydd, and forewarned by paralysis of his own approaching death, he convened an assembly of tributary princes and landowners at the abbey of Ystrad Flûr, and caused every one of them to do homage to his son Dafydd as heir to the crown of Gwynedd.

Anxious for that young prince's peaceful succession,

[1] Annales Cambriæ; Brut y Tywysogion.

[2] Gibson's Camden's Britannia, ed. 1772, vol. i. p. 470, quoted from the Red Book of the Exchequer; Matthew Paris, A.D. 1236.

[3] Annales Cambriæ, A.D. 1237–1238; Brut y Tywysogion, A.D. 1237–1238; Matthew Paris, A.D. 1237; Powel's Historie of Cambria; Wynne's History of Wales.

Llewelyn subsequently despatched messengers to King Henry, declaring that old age had rendered him at length unfit for strife and warfare, and willing to renounce such claims as might interrupt the tranquillity of his latter days, and that he would consent to swear fealty, acknowledge the King of England's paramount sovereignty, and bind himself by an indissoluble treaty to aid that monarch to the utmost extent of his power.

The Bishops of Chester and Hereford were accordingly commissioned by Henry to conclude the proposed treaty; but the business was retarded by that king's jealous indignation against the exaction of homage[1] to Dafydd from the subordinate Welsh rulers. Although Llewelyn had repeatedly been constrained, in the course of his long reign, to bow down before the supreme power of England, he had, nevertheless, maintained during many years his paramount sovereignty over the Princes of Powys and of Deheubarth. It was King Henry's object, therefore, to re-establish the assumption of his Plantagenet predecessors, who enforced their claims to paramount rule as well as to supreme sovereignty, and to degrade Llewelyn and his successors to the state of mere provincial kings. He made angry communications to the Lords Marchers on the subject, and wrote letters to Llewelyn of reproof, and to Dafydd of warning, charging the latter to render homage to his English sovereign before he ever again presumed to claim allegiance from subordinate chiefs.

The treaty, being finally agreed to, was ratified on Llewelyn's side by several of the Welsh princes, the rest refused thus to pledge their allegiance to Dafydd, and to compromise their national independence. From

A.D. 1238.

[1] Rymer's Fœdera, ed. 1704, t. i. pp. 379-382.

CHAP. XIX.

this date the government of his father's realm passed virtually into Dafydd's hands, and the first acts of that young prince tended to the limitation of Gruffydd's power by forcibly wresting from him all his lands excepting only the cantref of Lleyn, and by exacting his assent to the terms of Llewelyn's treaty.

On April 11, 1240,[1] died Llewelyn ab Iorwerth, fondly designated by his countrymen as the Great. He was buried in the abbey of Conwy, and left behind him one son and several daughters by his first wife Tangwstyl, and one son and one daughter by Joan his second wife. His reign of fifty-six years was distinguished by his vigorous and valorous assertion of his own birthright and the privileges of his forefathers, by the successful resistance which he repeatedly offered to English aggression, by his temporary re-establishment of the national supremacy of the King of Gwynedd, and by his acquisition and permanent possession of territories in Deheubarth, which, diminishing the fractured power of the descendants of Rhys ab Gruffydd the Justiciary, tended to its ultimate extinction, and to the concentration of regal functions in the line of Aberfraw.

[2]Llywarch ab Llewelyn the Bard was the panegyrist of Llewelyn ab Iorwerth. His contemporary poets were Eineon ab Gwgan, Dafydd Benfras, and Elidur Sais, Phylip Brydydd, household bard to Rhys Gryg, and several other bards who were attached to other princes of the Cymry.

[1] Annales Cambriæ, A. D. 1240; Brut y Tywysogion, A. D. 1240 Powel's Historie of Wales.

[2] Stephens, Literature of the Cymry, pp. 155-176.

CHAPTER XX.

THE CYMRY AND THE ANGLO-NORMANS.

FROM THE ACCESSION OF DAFYDD AB LLEWELYN AB IORWERTH, A.D. 1240, TO HIS DEATH, A.D. 1246.

. . . . Whatever day
Makes man a slave takes half his worth away.
POPE'S *Odyssey*, book xvii. 392, 393.

CHAP. XX.

A.D. 1240.

§ 1. GRUFFYDD AB LLEWELYN AB IORWERTH being a Cymro of the whole blood and the first-born son, possessing the advantages of lofty stature and a handsome person, and distinguished by dauntless courage and martial prowess, had by his majestic bearing and affable demeanour won the warm hearts of many among the men of Gwynedd, whose prejudice against Dafydd, as the son of an Englishwoman, was aggravated by the apparent injustice of Llewelyn's preference. It consequently happened, notwithstanding all the precautions which had been taken during the old king's life, that a fierce and sanguinary warfare broke out upon the day of his death between the partisans of his two sons, and raged with unrelenting fury for many weeks. At length, by the [1]interposition of the Bishop of Bangor,

[1] Matthew Paris, A.D. 1240, 1241, vol. i. Bohn's ed. pp. 260, 290, 371-373, 375, 308, 505-511; Annales Cambriæ, A.D. 1230-1241; Brut y Tywysogion, A.D. 1230-1241; Powel's Historie of Cambria; Wynne's History of Wales, and Appendix.

CHAP. XX.

Dafydd invited his brother to attend a conference and to treat of peace. Accordingly, under the prelate's safe-conduct, Gruffydd and Owen his eldest son set out for the appointed place on September 29, but, being treacherously waylaid and captured by Dafydd's emissaries, were closely immured in the castle of Criccieth.

A.D. 1241.

Richard, bishop of Bangor, not content with excommunicating Prince Dafydd for this treachery, went to the King of England, expatiated upon the heinous nature of the crime, and importunately conjured him to avert from the kingly honour of England the shameful reproach which this transaction must bring upon it when known at the Court of Rome and in other distant lands. Thus incited, the monarch sharply reproved his [1]tributary, and not only advised but ordered him immediately to liberate the captive Gruffydd. Dafydd stated in reply, that compliance would utterly destroy the peace and security of Wales, and that necessity constrained him to detain his brother as a prisoner. Henry reiterated the command; Dafydd reiterated the refusal; and Gruffydd, being informed of the interference in his favour, gave authority to his faithful, intelligent, and heroic wife Senena, who immediately entered into communication with King Henry, and treated with him on her husband's behalf. The intercession of the Lords Marchers, of Gruffydd ab Madog, prince of Powys, and of several other Welsh potentates, all of them offering military co-operation and other effective aid to the English king in an invasion of Dafydd's territories, prevailed upon the monarch the more readily, because it afforded him an opportunity of gratifying his insatiate greediness of gain on the pretext of a righteous war. He assembled an army at Gloucester, and marched with

[1] Rymer's Fœdera, ed. 1704, t. i. pp. 389–393, 395.

it to Shrewsbury. There he held a council on August 2, and agreed on the 12th to certain articles which formed the basis of a treaty with Senena, stipulating that Gruffydd should pay for his own and his son Owen's liberation the sum of 600 marks, and also the worth of 300 marks yearly as King Henry's vassal, and that he should abide by the decision of his commissioners as to the paternal lands and honours which might be allotted to him. For the observance of these terms she gave her sons Dafydd and Rhodri as hostages, and pledged herself by a solemn oath, invoking excommunication and interdict as the due punishment of falsehood. Having set Gruffydd's seal and hers to this agreement and delivered it to the king, she received from him the duplicate to which he had affixed his own. On the same day, and at the same place, Maelgwn ab Maelgwn of Deheubarth, Maredudd ab Rotpert of Cydewin, Gruffydd ab Madog, prince of Powys Isaf, Howel, Maredudd, and Gruffydd, princes of Powys Uchaf, Ralph Mortimer, Walter de Clifford, and Roger de Monthaut, severally bound themselves by corresponding documents to assist the execution of Senena's promises, invoking upon themselves the same dire penalties of unfaithfulness. King Henry soon afterwards raised his standard and marched by way of Chester to Rhuddlan, at the head of a strong and numerous army. The last of a chain of Cymric fortresses, placed along the hills of Clwydd for the protection of its vale, was that of Disserth, which occupied a commanding site upon a lofty rock; and the king having encamped his men, employed them in rebuilding and adding strength to that advantageous military position, while he sent messengers to summon Dafydd together with Dafydd's captive brother into his presence.

CHAP. XX.

The weather of that summer was intensely hot, the mountain springs were stopped, the lakes scorched up, and the marshes dried to dust, so that the men of Gwynedd could not resort to their natural strongholds, and practise their usual strategy against invaders.

Gruffydd ab Madog, prince of Powys Isaf, and many other Welsh rulers, favoured the cause of Gruffydd; and the effects of excommunication and interdict, enhancing all other difficulties, compelled the reluctant Dafydd to inform King Henry that, provided his sovereign rights were secured, his oath of allegiance and hostages accepted, and a safe-conduct granted to his uncle's presence, in the certain prospect of all the foreseen evils involved in Gruffydd's release, he would nevertheless consent to it. These conditions were accepted,[1] and, on August 29, a treaty was executed by Dafydd at Alnet, near the river Elwy in the diocese of St. Asaph, resembling the one to which Senena had agreed, with additions binding him to restore to the King of England and his barons all the lands acquired by Llewelyn ab Iorwerth during his wars, the payment of large sums of money to defray the expenses which King Henry had incurred in the present expedition, the renunciation of the districts which had formed the marriage portion of Dafydd's mother the Princess Joan, a promise not to harbour fugitives from English justice, an engagement to submit territorial questions to the decision of a specially appointed court, and to give hostages for the faithful fulfilment of these articles. An appended supplement of the same date promises that certain persons detained with Gruffydd as prisoners shall with him be given up to King Henry, and adds the suretyship of Howel ab Ednyfed, bishop of St. Asaph,

[1] Rymer's Fœdera, ed. 1704, t. i. pp. 397–399.

and the security of Dafydd's own oath upon the holy cross.

A second supplement provides that, if Dafydd or his heirs should in any way attempt to violate the preceding articles, their inheritance shall be forfeited to the crown of England. It also places the Cymric king under the power of the Archbishop of Canterbury and of the Bishops of London, Hereford, and Coventry, to be excommunicated, and to have his territories laid under an interdict, and the Bishops of Bangor and St. Asaph are engaged to give their charters to King Henry securing the execution of such maledictions.

In conformity with these arrangements, the English monarch received from Dafydd the custody of Gruffydd, Owen and the other prisoners, and then returning home, dismissed his troops, and committed the doubly betrayed prince to the Tower of London.

On October 6, Dafydd himself appeared in London, and did homage. Having thus established amicable relations with the English Court, he returned quietly to his own realm. Later in the same year, King Henry, when investing Walter, as the brother and heir of the deceased Gilbert, with the earldom of Pembroke and office of earl marshal, retained for himself the strong castles of Caerdiff and Caerdigan (Aberteifi).

The Bishop of Bangor, distressed by King Henry's perfidy, went to London, and continued perseveringly to plead for Gruffydd's liberation. The unhappy and betrayed Senena, finding that all her efforts had ended in procuring for her husband and her son Owen a change of gaolers, and for herself the additional deprivation of two more of her sons, speedily followed the beloved prisoners to London, obtained permission to visit them in the Tower, and with incessant and ever

CHAP. XX.

hopeful kindness attempted to soothe the weary languor of their captivity.

From the day that delivered Gruffydd into the power of the English government, the most active measures were taken by that government to secure the stability of their hold on Wales; the castles of Disserth and Tyganwy, lately rebuilt, and the castles of Caerdiff and Caerdigan, taken from the earl marshal, were garrisoned by the royal forces; the cases of disputed inheritance in Powys and Meirionydd, instead of being left to the decision of the Brenhin Cymrû Oll, were disposed of in the name of King Henry; and thus Gruffydd ab Gwenwynwyn and the sons of Cynan ab Owen Gwynedd received their hereditary territories, and became the monarch's feudal tenants in chief.

Gruffydd[1] was maintained as a prince, and treated with respectful consideration as presumptive heir to the throne of Gwynedd, nevertheless his lengthened captivity rendered him desperate, and he planned with his devoted wife a method of escape. He secretly cut up the tapestry of his apartment, and his sheets and tablecloths into strips, which he twisted and plaited into a rope, and one night, by means of this frail cable, he commenced a precipitous and perpendicular descent from the top of the Tower, assisted by his son Owen within, while Senena awaited him beyond the walls.

Probably he hoped that St. David, who had been superstitiously constituted the tutelary spirit of his nation, would more especially favour his escape upon the anniversary then dawning; but the great weight of the stalwart and long-imprisoned warrior stretched,

[1] Matthew Paris, A.D. 1244, Bohn's ed. vol. i. pp. 504, 510, 511; and vol. ii. pp. 38, 39; Annales Cambriæ, A.D. 1244; Brut y Tywysogion, A.D. 1244; Powel's Historie of Cambria; Wynne's History of Wales.

strained, and ravelled the cable; it broke, and he fell from a great height, his head striking the ground at the bottom of the trench, and driving his throat up to the chin into his breast, so that, in the early morning of the 1st of March, his keepers were saddened by the piteous spectacle of his corpse.

King Henry manifested much emotion on being informed of this catastrophe. He reproved and punished the guards for their negligence, and ordered that Owen, the eldest son of Gruffydd, should be watched with increased vigilance. Nevertheless, he soon relaxed the rigour of Owen's imprisonment, caused him to receive the education of an English nobleman, and to share the luxuries and amusements of the court, showing him the most conciliatory attentions, with the intention of transforming the Cymro into an attached and enervated retainer.

§ 2. The Cymry, whether under the immediate rule of the English Justiciary, of the Lords Marchers, or of the subjected native princes, still found submission[1] to the feudal laws and to their arbitrary administration to be intolerable. The dreadful death of Gruffydd, which they attributed to King Henry, and the suspicion that the extinction of their national existence was ultimately intended by him, touched their combustible hearts as with a torch, while the Bards fed the flame as of old, with traditions of the past and anticipations of restored dominion and glorious ascendancy. In Dafydd they now acknowledged a bold and martial leader, and the spring of the year 1244 saw the whole nation in a state of popular insurrection.

All the princes were with Dafydd, excepting Gruffydd ab Madog, Gruffydd ab Gwenwynwyn, and Morgan ab

[1] Matthew Paris, A.D. 1244, Bohn's ed. vol. ii. pp. 4, 5.

CHAP. XX.

Howel; and, besides the call of his country, Dafydd was prompted to take arms by resentment for personal injuries against the Lords Marchers, and more especially against De Bohun, the brother of his wife, for persisting in retaining her dowry; but, dreading the anathemas which he had invoked upon himself in case of perjury, and believing that the Pope could exempt him from those dire penalties, and also relieve him from the galling yoke of England, and insure the continued national existence of his country, he had scarcely mustered his army, when he sent messengers to Pope Innocent, stating his case and offering to transfer to him the allegiance pledged to England, and to hold his dominions henceforth as a fief of the Roman See. This proposal he strengthened by a present of all the money he could collect, by promises of filial obedience, and of an annual tribute of 500 marks. The unprincipled pontiff readily entered upon the consideration of this business, accepted the prince's gifts, and led him to expect the success of his mission.

On July 26, 1244, Pope Innocent issued letters of commission from Genoa, authorizing the Abbots of Conwy and Cwmhîr to inquire into the matter of Prince David's petition, and to make their report upon it to the Court of Rome. The commissioners accordingly directed their mandates to the King of England, summoning him to appear before them at Creuddyn in Llangustennyn, on the approaching vigil of St. Agnes, to answer to the citation. The monarch, by the advice of his nobles, treated the abbots with contemptuous disregard, but he speedily sent emissaries to the Pope, laden with gifts far outvaluing those of the Welsh prince, and the venal Innocent soon afterwards declared himself[1] upon King Henry's side.

[1] Rymer's Fœdera, ed. 1704, t. i. pp. 425, 430.

CHAP. XX.

April, A.D. 1244.

Meanwhile Prince Dafydd and his host, marching under the dragon standard, and inspirited by the strains of the Unbennaeth Ynys Prydain, ravaged the border lands, borne triumphantly along by the current of national enthusiasm. Local opposition availed nothing; but at length De Clare, Mortimer, De Bohun, and other Lords Marchers took the field, and, after having been worsted several times, gained one bloody victory, and urgently demanded assistance from their sovereign; who happened at that time, August 1244, to be at the head of an army on his homeward march from Scotland.

Henry, nevertheless, did not come to the rescue, but hastened on to Westminster,[1] and thence despatched 300 knights with their retinues under the command of Hubert Fitz Matthew, well furnished with money and other supplies, ordering them to check what he termed 'the insolence of the Welsh.' Fitz Matthew reached the scene of action just after the native forces had achieved two successive and notable victories over the forces of De Bohun and the Mortimers, and finding that the conquerors had withdrawn, he rested for the night, and marched after them the next day, intending to surprise and surround them; but the Cymry, aware of his approach, lay in wait for him, slew many of his men, and followed the rest in their retreat until they found safety in a border town.

§ 3. On January 6, 1245,[2] letters were issued by King Henry, summoning David and the other insurgent Welsh princes and nobles to appear before him, and answer for harm inflicted upon the border lands, and for other alleged misdemeanours. Such citations were often disregarded as mere ceremonious threats, but in

[1] Matthew Paris, A.D. 1244, Bohn's ed. vol. ii. pp. 27, 28.

[2] Rymer's Fœdera, ed. 1704, t. i. pp. 430-434, 440.

CHAP. XX.

this instance they evidently uttered preliminary warnings of approaching vengeance, and Dafydd did not refuse to enter upon negotiations as the groundwork of a truce. Meanwhile the warfare was not suspended.

On February 3, 1245, the assembled nobles and knights of the Marches, led forth their troops in quest of their Cymric foes, and, on entering a narrow precipitous pass between mountains, Herbert Fitz Matthew was suddenly beset, overwhelmed, and crushed to death, together with many of the English, by weapons and masses of rock hurled down from the crags by the Cymry. This incident inspirited the victors, but it greatly embittered their foes. Nevertheless the negotiations with England went on, and the king empowered John, earl of Chester, and Henry of Alderley to treat concerning a truce, and to give safe-conduct to Prince David's messengers.

On March 6,[1] however, the castellan of Montgomery made a hostile excursion in that neighbourhood, and putting himself in the way of the native forces, pretended to flee before them, and thus drew them into an ambush, where more than 300 of Prince Dafydd's men were slain.

Infuriated by this disaster, and anxious to retrieve the fame which insures success in war, the prince laid siege to Montgomery Castle, and finding that the garrison offered effectual resistance to his power, he marched to attack the castle of Monthaut (Mold). The castellan fled at his approach, and Dafydd soon won the fortress by assault; slaying some of the prisoners and enlisting the rest in his service, he levelled the edifice with the ground. He then entered upon a series of nocturnal

[1] Matthew Paris, Bohn's ed. A D. 1245, vol. ii. pp. 45-47, 59, 109-112, 114-116.

forays, which he carried on with such vigilant ability, that, with little loss to his own men, he harassed his foes with incessant rapine and slaughter, and the war thenceforth raged on both sides with increased ferocity, no quarter being given, or mercy shown on either side. The Warden and the Lords Marchers looked for help to King Henry, who, having written to his justiciary in Ireland commanding aid of every sort to be furnished for a war against the Welsh, proceeded slowly to take other measures preparatory to his intended expedition.

It was not until August that the King of England[1] led his numerous and well appointed army into Wales, and entrenched himself at Tyganwy; but so ill was the previous appointment for simultaneous action kept with the Irish forces, that the royal standard still floated over the castle towers before the eyes of the English host, while those deluded soldiers landed in Mona, committed dreadful ravages, were valiantly opposed by the inhabitants, and, finding themselves unsupported, retreated to their ships.

King Henry had announced his intention of subduing the whole country, but a repulse received by some of his troops in a forest defile had the effect of localising his operations, and he proceeded to employ his troops in strengthening the fortifications of the castle of Tyganwy, called by the English writers Gannock, intending so to avail himself of the advantageous site as to render it absolutely impregnable.

A letter, dated September 24, from a nobleman in the camp, addressed to a friend elsewhere, and preserved by Matthew Paris, affords a graphic view of

[1] Annales Cambriæ, A.D. 1245; Brut y Tywysogion, A.D. 1245; Powel's Historie of Cambria; Wynne's History of Wales.

CHAP. XX.

camp life, the canvas tents nearly encompassing the castle, and scantily screening their inmates from cold and rough weather, want of winter clothing, scarcity of provisions, and the necessity of incessant watchfulness against the sudden and nocturnal attacks of the Cymry.

The famine, of which men and horses were dying, compelled the English foraging parties to encounter great danger; and, with the recklessness of desperate men, they often committed acts of atrocious cruelty, bringing home for instance, from one marauding expedition, the decapitated heads of about a hundred Cymry. The perishing army watched anxiously and eagerly for the arrival of merchant ships from Ireland freighted with provisions for sale, while Dafydd's troops on the opposite side of the estuary endeavoured to intercept such supplies. In the afternoon of the Monday which preceded Michaelmas Day in that year, a ship bound for the harbour chanced to be so carelessly steered that it ran aground under the shadow of the castle, but upon the opposite bank. The Cymry rushed forth with alacrity to seize the prize, for the country was eaten up and devastated, and they also suffered want. King Henry's officers, perceiving the accident, launched speedily a little fleet of boats, and embarked to the rescue several knights with their retainers, a party of Gascon crossbow-men, and 300 subjugated Welshmen, natives of Cheshire and Shropshire. The Cymry seeing them approach, retreated hastily towards their own strongholds; Walter Bisset and his followers took possession of the stranded ship; and the other knights, though destitute of horses, pursued the fugitives for a distance of two leagues, wounding and slaying many of the hindmost, and not daring to follow

the others to their stronghold, they vented their rage by plundering and carrying fire and sword through the neighbourhood. Not even the Cistercian abbey of Conwy escaped their ravages; they pillaged this sacred depository of all its property, even to the chalices and books, and they burned the buildings which belonged to it. While these irreverent ruffians were thus occupied, the Cymric forces were mustering, and, before the heavy-laden marauders could re-cross the estuary, avenging hands overtook them. Many were slain, many cast themselves into the waves and were drowned, several knights were captured, the Cymry intending to extort high ransoms for them; but the recollection of cruel insults practised upon their own men by the English, and especially upon Nafedd ab Odo, and the spectacle of their desecrated abbey, wrought the feelings of the avengers up to frenzy, and like savages they hung the knights till dead, tore the corpses limb from limb, and threw them piecemeal into the water. Walter Bisset valiantly defended the stranded ship against fierce and numerous assailants, until at midnight the tide rose, the ship rolled, and, baffled by the sea, the Cymry withdrew lamenting the loss of their prey, while Bisset and his coadjutors made the best of the opportunity, and, while night and high water lasted, effected their escape by means of the boats. When daylight dawned and the tide receded, the nimble Cymry returned to the spot, but found there only the ship and its cargo, consisting of sixty casks of wine and provisions of various kinds. They carried off nearly all these things before the return of the tide, and then set fire to the ship, but the English contrived to drag the burning wreck to their side of the estuary, and to appropriate the waif of seven remaining casks of wine.

CHAP. XX.

After a stay of ten weeks at Tyganwy, the King of England found that the fortifications of his castle were complete. He therefore struck his tents on October 29, withdrew his suffering host, and marched into Mona, where, with pitiless cruelty, he put all the inhabitants who fell in his way to the sword, reduced their habitations to ashes, ravaged their lands of the scanty remains which had escaped the Irish spoilers, and left the fertile and populous island a wasted solitude. Turning homeward, he caused the saltpits of Witz to be destroyed; and, to prevent the Cymry from deriving supplies of provisions from the Marches, he devastated and laid waste the lands of his own subjects in Cheshire and the neighbouring districts, so that the inhabitants were reduced to a condition of want and utter misery. He prohibited also, on pain of death, the supply of food from all parts of England, and from Ireland, to the famishing Welsh, while he kept the new castle well provided with men, weapons, military accoutrements, stores, and engines, and ordered the garrisons of all his Welsh fortresses rigorously to repress every attempt of the natives to issue forth from their desolated lands in search of food.[1] Pestilence, despondency, and despair raged in Gwynedd, and it is said that the compassion of Richard, earl of Cornwall, was so far aroused towards his weary, harassed, and heartsick nephew, that when Dafydd personally sought his aid, he entertained and solaced the sufferer for a time in the castle of Tintagel. Dafydd, however, loved his people, and was not long absent from them; but he sank under the sorrows which oppressed them, and,

[1] Matthew Paris, A.D. 1246, Bohn's ed. vol. ii. pp. 140, 141; Annales Cambriæ, A.D. 1246; Brut y Tywysogion, A.D. 1246; Powel's Historie of Cambria; Wynne's History of Wales.

early in the spring of the year 1246, he died at Aber of a broken heart, and was buried at Conwy by his father's side. He had won the affections of his countrymen, they mourned for him with fervent grief, and lamented that he left no son to inherit his throne. His sister Gwladys was married to Sir Ralph Mortimer, and his nearest male heirs were the sons of his half-brother Gruffydd.

CHAPTER XXI.

THE ANGLO-NORMANS AND THE CYMRY.

FROM THE DEATH OF DAFYDD AB LLEWELYN AB IORWERTH TO THE CAPTURE OF ELEANOR DE MONTFORT, A.D. 1246–1276.

The sun goes down,
Far off his light is on the naked crags
Of Pen Maen Mawr and Arvon's ancient hills,
And the last glory lingers yet awhile
Crowning old Snowdon's venerable head
That rose amid his mountains.

SOUTHEY: *Madoc*, part i. § 1.

CHAP. XXI.

A.D. 1246.

§ 1. DAFYDD[1] being dead, the principal landowners of Gwynedd assembled together and elected Llewelyn and Owen, the two elder sons of the late Prince Gruffydd, to the joint sovereignty of the realm over which Dafydd had reigned. The news no sooner reached Prince Owen[2] than he at once cast aside the luxurious temptations which surrounded him in King Henry's court, and hastened with speed which defied overtaking to present himself before his loyal subjects.

Nicholas de Myles, seneschal of Caermarthen, together with Maredudd ab Rhys Gryg and Maredudd ab Owen, was at this time commissioned by King Henry to seize upon the lands of Maelgwn Fychan, while the

[1] Annales Cambriæ, A.D. 1246; Brut y Tywysogion, A.D. 1246; Powel's Historie of Cambria; Wynne's History of Wales.

[2] Matthew Paris, A.D. 1246, Bohn's ed. vol. ii. p. 141.

Earl of Gloucester simultaneously possessed himself of the lands of Howel ab Maredudd in Morganwg. Maelgwn fled to Meirionydd, swiftly pursued by Nicholas de Myles, who being joined on his march by Gruffydd ab Gwenwynwyn, pressed onward to Tyganwy, whence the Princes Owen and Llewelyn fled to their unassailable fortresses among the mountains. Maelgwn found it expedient to surrender himself, and returning with his pursuers into Deheubarth, he obtained from the king a grant of Geneur Glyn and Iscoed, which formed parts of his former possessions.

In North Wales, King Henry looked anxiously about this time to the security of his castles,[1] ordering John de Grey, justiciary of Chester, to replace with stone the wooden palisade of that fortress, and to repair Disserth.

Owen and Llewelyn found it necessary to conclude a [2]treaty of peace with the English government, even though that treaty exacted the absolute resignation of that part of Wales lying eastward of the river Conwy, and the feudal service of severally attending the king's summons, either in Wales or the Marches, at their own expense, with 1000 foot and 24 horsemen well appointed, or with 500 infantry wherever else they might be summoned. They also consented to renounce their right to the homage and services of the Cymric nobles, and to hold their dominions as vassals of the English Crown.

The penalty annexed to any infringement of these articles was the forfeiture of their realm, while the

[1] Royal and other Historical Letters illustrative of the Reign of Henry III. vol. ii. No. 450, p. 45.

[2] Woodward's History of Wales, part ii. p. 417; Rymer's Fœdera, ed. 1704, t. i. pp. 443, 444.

CHAP. XXI.

advantages accruing to the Welsh princes were chiefly negative and included under the humiliating grant of national pardon.

A document executed at Woodstock on April 30, 1247, embodies and confirms the conditions above stated.

The abbots of Ystrad Flûr[1] and of Conwy, availing themselves of the peace thus secured, obtained the King of England's permission, and reverently removed the remains of Prince Gruffydd ab Llewelyn ab Iorwerth from his London grave to the sepulchre of his fathers at Conwy.

The spring of the year 1247 was inclement, and when at last the herbage began to grow, the crops to rise out of the earth, the fruit trees to blossom, and the forests to unfold their leaves, an intense frost occurred late in April and cut off all vegetation, a heavy fall of snow followed, and lay so long upon the valleys, hills, and mountains, that it completed the misery of the famishing Cymry. The situation of the country, already desolated by war, became utterly wretched, pasturage and foliage were destroyed, commerce was annihilated; and the people, smitten with pestilence, wanted strength to till their lands and seeds to sow in them. Scarcity and great consequent mortality extended also throughout England and Ireland. The district rulers of Cymru sank into inane despair; the dejected ecclesiastics lost at once their control over the people, and their ability to relieve the people's wants.[2] The Bishop of St. David's pined away and died of grief; the Bishop of Llandaff became blind from weeping; the

[1] Brut y Tywysogion, A.D. 1248; Powel's Historie of Cambria; Wynne's History of Wales.

[2] Matthew Paris, A.D. 1247, vol. ii. pp. 244-245.

Bishops of St. Asaph and Bangor were compelled by hard necessity to beg their bread, and to subsist on alms; but the latter prelate soon found a hospitable refuge with the friendly Abbot of St. Alban's, and [1] Howel ab Ednyfed, bishop of St. Asaph, died in that melancholy year. He appears to have been the only Cymro among the four.

At this melancholy epoch, Thomas, archdeacon of Lincoln, was elected to the vacant Menevian see, and notwithstanding the impoverished condition of the diocese, he was induced to accept it by the wish to escape from the domination of Robert Grostête his bishop, by the desire of finding once more a home among his own people, and by the hope of consoling and helping them in their sufferings; nor did the King of England refuse to ratify the appointment.

A letter to Henry[2] from Owen and Llewelyn, written about this time, complains of the arbitrary proceedings of the justiciary of Chester, John de Grey. The alienated cantrefs[3] of Rhos, Rhyfyoned, Dyffryn Clwyd, and Tegeingl were farmed out by John le Strange, justiciary of Chester, to John de Grey, the highest bidder, at an annual rent of 500 marks; and, two years afterwards, John de Grey, being then justiciary, was superseded in possession of those cantrefs by Alan de la Zouche, who offered 1100 marks. The inhabitants meanwhile suffered severely not only from hopeless subjection to the tyrannous administration of English laws, and from excessive exactions to assist in

A.D. 1250.

[1] Nicolas, Synopsis, vol. ii. pp. 822, 825, 839, 856.

[2] Royal and other Historical Letters illustrative of the Reign of Henry III. vol. ii. No. 469, p. 64.

[3] Matthew Paris, Bohn's ed. vol. ii. A.D. 1251, p. 435; A.D. 1252, p. 486.

CHAP. XXI.

defraying the King's projected expedition to Palestine, but also from the habitual extortion of the justiciaries under the form of taxation.

In the year 1251, died at Windsor[1] Gwladys ferch Llewelyn ab Iorwerth, and wife of Sir Ralph Mortimer the lord marcher. Historians under the Tudor dynasty have attempted to represent this princess as the right heir of her brother Dafydd, casting for that purpose the slur of illegitimacy upon her half-brother Gruffydd; but it is evident that she asserted no claim to the Welsh crown, and that none of her contemporaries put forward such a claim in her behalf; while the sons of Gruffydd were universally acknowledged by the Welsh people as the true heirs of their uncle by the half-blood, Dafydd ab Iorwerth, prince of Wales.

A.D. 1252. The territory of Elfel had long been subjugated, but the inhabitants persevered in [2]pasturing their flocks and herds upon the Maeleinydd mountains, claiming an hereditary right to that privilege. Llewelyn ab Gwrwareth, bailiff to the king in the lands which had belonged to Maelgwn Fychan, forbade the practice, and finding his prohibition disregarded, he plundered with a strong hand the property of the offenders.

On July 8, 1253,[3] a safe-conduct was issued to enable Dafydd ab Gruffydd and his household to proceed to the English Court; and there he was cherished and caressed for a time, as an agent of intestine dissension, to subserve the political purposes of that court in Wales. This was ultimately done, upon Dafydd's return into Wales, by stimulating the ambition

[1] Powel's Historie of Cambria, p. 315; Brut y Tywysogion, A.D. 1251; Annales Cambriæ, A.D. 1251.

[2] Annales Cambriæ, A.D. 1252; Brut y Tywysogion, A.D. 1252.

[3] Rymer's Fœdera, ed. 1704, t. i. p. 492.

of Owen, and exciting him to oust Llewelyn and to reign alone.

On February 14, 1254,[1] the castles of Disserth, Rhuddlan, and Tyganwy, and of Montgomery, Caermarthen, Caerdigan, and Buallt were granted by the king to Prince Edward his eldest son, and the alienated cantrefs of Gwynedd, Rhos, Rhyfyoned, Dyffryn Clwyd, and Tegeingl, being joined to the earldom of Chester, were conferred with that dignity upon the same prince, who immediately took possession of the seven castles and filled them with gangs of notorious ruffians, while Geoffry de Langley his steward practised every species of tyrannical exaction upon the unhappy people of the adjacent districts.

In the month of July, 1255,[2] Prince Owen, assisted by Prince Dafydd, openly and forcibly attempted to deprive Llewelyn of his share in the sovereignty of Wales. Llewelyn, however, was not taken by surprise, and, being the favourite of the people, he readily mustered an army to oppose the partisans of his brethren. The rival parties had recourse to war, and, after an hour's fierce conflict at Bryn Derwen, Llewelyn captured Owen and Dafydd, slew many of their followers, and effectually routed the rest. He then incarcerated Owen in the lonely fortress of Dolbadern, imprisoned Dafydd elsewhere, and without further strife possessed himself of their patrimony and assumed the sole sovereignty of the Cymry.

§ 2. The Annales record in the year 1255 the death of Maredudd ab Llewelyn of Meirionydd, a youth of great courage and high character; and the same

[1] Rymer's Fœdera, ed. 1704, t. i. p. 501; Matthew Paris, A.D. 1254, Bohn's ed. vol. iii. p. 8; Woodward's History of Wales, part ii. p. 419.

[2] Annales Cambriæ, A.D. 1255; Brut y Tywysogion, A.D. 1254.

CHAP. XXI.

authority attests that Rhys ab Maelgwn, whose merit far surpassed that of his princely compeers, and by whom his countrymen had hoped to gain deliverance from English bondage, fell sick at this time, and having on June 24 made confession and received the Lord's Supper, assumed the Cistercian habit at Ystrad Flûr, and soon sank under his malady, and was buried with great solemnity and much lamentation in that abbey, by the side of his sister, who had died the year before.

In 1256 died another young prince in whom the people hoped, Maredudd ab Madog, lord of Iâl; and yet another, Owen ab Iorwerth of Elfel; and the loss of these promising men seemed to foreshadow to the desponding bards the failure of future champions for the country's independence.

At the commencement of the year 1256, Prince Llewelyn wrote to King Henry with friendly greeting, assuring him that he had given an honourable reception to his messengers who had desired the prince to repair to Montgomery [1] on March 1, to arrange for the continuance of the existing truce, and to agree to make reparation for its alleged infractions. The object of this letter was to solicit a postponement of the appointed day until April 16, and to propose the substitution of the Ty Gwyn as the place of meeting. He requested Henry also to forbid the Marchers to molest Llewelyn's subjects, who had by that prince's command refrained from violating the truce.

Another letter from Prince Llewelyn to King Henry complains that, after time and place had been appointed for the conference, the barons of the Cheshire Marches and the sons of John le Strange had savagely devastated

[1] Rymer's Fœdera, ed. 1704, t. i. pp. 580, 581.

the lands of Gruffydd, lord of Broomfield (Maelor), and that the 25th of September having finally been fixed for that conference in which the Justiciary of Chester was to act as the royal commissioner, that justiciary had upon that very day made a foray upon Gruffydd's lands. Llewelyn, therefore, appeals to the king himself for justice against such outrageous proceedings.

"In July 1256,[1] Prince Edward visited Chester, and passed in state throughout his territories in North Wales, inspecting his castles and receiving the homage of his vassals. About the middle of August he reached Tyganwy, and the sanction which he gave to the cruel exactions and insults of De Langley, and his scornful and heartless behaviour during this progress, such as causing a casual young wayfarer to have one ear torn off and one eye plucked out, convinced the oppressed people that revolt remained the only remedy for their grievous wrongs. Despoiled and trampled on, the Cymry of the Perfeddwlad turned their thoughts towards Llewelyn, the descendant of the ancient heroes who had led their forefathers forth to fight for freedom; and a deputation soon afterwards appeared before him, told him of their debasing bondage, their utter misery, and asked redress. From the North, from the South, and from Powys came expressions of similar import, for the sanguine people, recovering within the last few years from the horrors of war, scarcity, and pestilence, now felt themselves strong enough to make another effort to throw off the yoke of thraldom; and the Cymric inhabitants of Cheshire and the Marches, retaining their ancient sympathies, gave secret assurances of effective co-operation.

[1] Matthew Paris, A.D. 1256, Bohn's ed. vol. iii. pp. 200–202, 204, 205, 207; Annales Cambriæ, A.D. 1256; Brut y Tywysogion, A D. 1255, 1256; Powel's Historie of Cambria; Wynne's History of Wales.

CHAP. XXI.

The prince and the district rulers entered into a confederacy: 10,000 armed horsemen and about 20,000 infantry swore solemnly upon the Holy Gospels boldly and faithfully to stand up to the death for their country's liberty; and with this army Llewelyn so suddenly and vigorously attacked Prince Edward's possessions, that his mercenary soldiers quailed before it, and the young Plantagenet, eager for vengeance, hastened to borrow money to enable him to wage against the Welsh a war of extermination.

Meanwhile the Welsh forces made their way to the city of Chester, which they pillaged, together with the surrounding country, before they returned to their homes laden with booty, which they deemed to be merely an inadequate compensation, abruptly taken, for the long continued and wearisome exactions to which they had been unjustly subjected.

The troops raised by Prince Edward distinguished themselves while marching with him through the English provinces towards Chester by deeds of rapine and violence so atrocious, and his permission and countenance were so openly given to those deeds, that all the previous acts of extortion and cruelty practised by his father seemed trivial when compared with the early wickedness of the son. The winter, however, proved so wet and stormy, that the marshy grounds of Wales could easily be defended by the people against the heavily accoutred troops of Prince Edward, who solaced his disappointment by exacting from Geoffry de Langley an equivalent for the loss of property which the Welsh incursion had caused. King Henry and his brother, Earl Richard, entered soon afterwards into [1] pacific communication with Llewelyn and other Welsh

[1] Rymer's Fœdera, ed. 1704, t. i. pp. 591, 592, 619.

princes, entreating them to desist from hostilities; but the Welshmen well knew that the season and its weather favoured their cause, and that the English sought delay only to injure them more effectually; therefore, defying rain and tempest, they urged their predatory warfare. Gruffydd de Brunet, or le Brun, was a Welshman by noble descent, birth, and language; but his extensive influence had been won by the English party, therefore Llewelyn's troops attacked him, pursued him in his flight across the Marches, and devastated his lands with fire and sword, together with those of several neighbouring knights and barons.

The pride of Prince Edward as well as his property suffered severely from these inroads, for, deeming himself already to be the sovereign lord of the Welsh people, he was constrained to stand helplessly unable to check them. The winter passed away, but no money could he obtain to levy soldiers, and the Welsh still continued in a state of insurrection.

Throughout the year 1256, the weather continued to assist in the defence of Wales, for unprecedented rains, storms, floods, and inundations prevailed, attended in the winter months by terrific thunder and lightning.

§ 3. Wet weather lasted on into the year 1257, so that, in the month of May, wild rains washed away the seed which had been sown, and compelled many husbandmen to sow their fields a second time. Prince Edward, baulked and baffled by land, now invited bands of Irishmen to his aid, and loudly threatened to crush the Welsh as a potter's vessel. Llewelyn, becoming aware of the projected invasion, took precautions for the defence of his coast by fitting out several galleys well manned and armed, which he sent to encounter the Irish upon the sea.

CHAP. XXI.

Convinced that strength lay in unity, the Prince of Wales, who was zealously supported by the district rulers of Gwynedd, entered now into a league with the Princes of Powys and Deheubarth, and they mutually resolved upon combined action. King Henry had refused to insure the safety of the Welsh property of Gruffydd le Brun, who consequently deserted the English party, and gave such valuable information to Llewelyn concerning the invading army, that the prince forgave his former offences, and admitted him into the Cymric confederation.

A.D. 1257.[1] The Welsh following up their career of success now divided their army into two bodies, each comprizing 15,000 men lightly armed according to the custom of their country, but including in each division 250 knights, clad in complete armour, and mounted upon iron-clad chargers. This formed a new feature in the martial array of the Cymry, and Matthew Paris records that Prince Edward complained of it to his father as an act of intolerable presumption in a people whom already he regarded as his thralls. The king replied, 'What is it to me? The land is yours by my gift. Exert your powers for the first time, and arouse fame in your youth, that your enemies may fear you for the future. As for me, I am occupied with other business.'

Even the English chroniclers of this period awoke to a sense of the brave and manly patriotism of the Welsh, and they often compare the noble resistance of that oppressed nation with the abject supineness of the contemporary English.

Prince Llewelyn and his coadjutors defying the Earl

[1] Matthew Paris, Bohn's ed. vol. iii. A.D. 1257, pp. 217, 218, 220, 233, 238, 240, 241, 243–248, 252, 255, 258; Annales Cambriæ, A.D. 1257, 1258; Brut y Tywysogion, A.D. 1257, 1258; Powel's Historie of Cambria; Wynne's History of Wales.

of Gloucester and the other Lords Marchers, constrained them to defend their own possessions, and to leave the lands of Prince Edward at the mercy of the Welsh.

The English king, however, determined at length to bestir himself, and issued his[1] warrants throughout all England, calling upon each and every one who owed him knightly service to be ready prepared with horses and arms to follow him into Wales, whither he was about to proceed, on the feast of St. Mary Magdalen (July 22), to check the violence of the Welsh, who were, he said, roving about at will, seizing the castles of noblemen on the frontier and even in England, putting the garrisons to death, and spreading fire and slaughter in all directions.

It was arranged that the first division of the English army, led by King Henry, should assemble at Chester, on July 22; and that the second division, under the command of the Earl of Gloucester, should assemble at Bristol, so that simultaneous attacks might be made upon North and South Wales, while a fleet from the Cinque Ports assisted the land forces. On their way to Chester the king's soldiers wantonly destroyed all the standing corn in the neighbourhood, not supposing that they should linger in the country long enough to want it, and only intending to deprive the Welsh of its use.

The men of Gwynedd, learning that the English king was about to take the field against them, sent their wives and children and all their moveable property into the strongholds of the mountains, and then ploughed up the ground along the line of country through which the invaders were expected to march, destroyed the flour mills, broke down the bridges, dug

[1] Rymer's Fœdera, ed. 1704, t. i. pp. 635, 637.

CHAP. XXI.

pits in the fords, and removed all fodder and other provisions.

The firmness and unanimity with which the Welsh people resolved at this time to struggle against the English for the maintenance and recovery of their ancestral laws and liberty, shook for a while the wilful mood of Prince Edward, and led him almost to resign the hope of subjecting them. Not only did their enemies acknowledge that the cause of the Welsh was just, but among the oppressed and aggrieved barons of England were many who sympathized with Llewelyn. King Henry, however, summoned aid from Scotland, Ireland, and the Continent, and Llewelyn clearly saw the dangerous position of his country, and, after conferring with his chiefs, adopted their counsel, and deputed special messengers proposing peace to King Henry, on condition that the Welsh should retain their ancestral laws and liberties without molestation; that they should not be bound to render an account of their actions to Prince Edward, or to any other person excepting the king himself; and plainly declaring that they would not, upon any consideration, submit again to be given away and sold like oxen and beasts of burden.

The king arrogantly refused to listen either to the proposals or to the remonstrances of the Welsh ambassadors, ordering immediate preparations to be made for battle, unfurling the royal standard, and going forth day after day with his men-at-arms, threatening extermination to the whole Welsh people.

His headquarters continued at Chester, where he vainly awaited the arrival of his promised allies until Michaelmas drew near, provisions became extremely scarce, inclement weather set in, and the general discontent of his followers constrained him to comply

with the advice of his council, and to commence a retreat. Llewelyn no sooner heard of the homeward march of the king and his army, than he and his men cautiously pursued them, tracking their way, watching for opportunities of slaying stragglers, and amusing themselves with expressions of witty derision at the expense of the fugitive king; who, abating nothing of the pomp and circumstance of war, marched under the shade of his royal standard, still uttering vaunts, threatening his enemies, and encouraging his recreant warriors to take the earliest future opportunity of slaughtering 'those dregs of the human race, the Welsh people.'

The re-inforcement of the garrisons of Tyganwy and Disserth castles was the only advantage derived by the English from this vast expedition.

In the autumn of the same year, James, second baron de Aldithley, or Audeley, returned from his attendance in Germany upon Richard, king of the Romans, and finding his Welsh castles and lands in the north-eastern Marches destroyed and devastated by the insurgents, immediately called them to account for such proceedings by hostile retaliation, slaying many men, and burning their dwellings. The Welsh warriors soon sallied forth, and took speedy vengeance upon Audeley and his neighbouring coadjutors, burning castles and houses until that part of the Welsh frontier was reduced to a desert state. A.D. 1257.

The proposals of peace made by Prince Llewelyn had been treated with contempt by the English government; and the Welsh princes and people, despairing of legal redress for the usurpations and vexatious tyranny of local foes, avenged themselves recklessly by seizing upon Prince Edward's borough towns, and upon

CHAP. XXI.

others belonging to the Marchers, carrying off all the stores and moveable goods, setting fire to the rest, and killing the townsmen.

It appears, however, that a truce was agreed upon either in the winter of 1257, or the early spring of 1258, for its expiration in April is mentioned by [1]Matthew Paris. At that time the suspension of the trade in beeves and horses caused the Welsh to suffer from want of corn, salt, and other necessaries, which they usually received in exchange for them from the English; and ungenial seasons withering the pastures, famishing the flocks and herds, and destroying or spoiling the corn and other fruits of the earth, produced a fearful scarcity throughout the principality. Goaded, therefore, by want as well as enmity, the Welsh made predatory expeditions in quest of food upon the lands of William de Valence in Pembrokeshire, and upon those of other wealthy settlers, laying in from the spoils a stock of corn, salt, and other necessary things.

A.D. 1258. On Easter Monday, the colonists of Penbroch and Rhos in Pembrokeshire made an invasion of Cemaes and of Pennant, slew two Welsh nobles, and were bearing away rich spoils, when the men whose property had been pillaged pursued and surrounded the marauders, put them to flight, and not only rescued their own goods, but also possessed themselves of the horses of their foes.

The defection of Maredudd ab Rhys Gryg, and his doing homage to King Henry, excited great indignation among his patriotic countrymen. It occurred soon after the outrage just recorded, and Llewelyn with his South Welsh warriors hastened to Ystrad Towy, and there wreaked their vengeance upon the castles and

[1] Vol. iii. A.D. 1258, pp. 267-269, 279, 285-288, 293, 304, 311, 312.

lands of the traitor. They afterwards marched to Cydweli and burnt the town; but Patrick, lord of that place, together with Maredudd issued forth from the castle and attacked the besiegers. A severe conflict ensued, in which Maredudd was wounded and his party worsted. They subsequently fled to Caermarthen, while the victors carried the corpse of Dafydd ab Howel of Arwystli (who had fallen on their side in the battle) to the abbey of Ystrad Flûr, and buried it with funeral honours.

About this time, Llewelyn restored his sanguine and fickle brother Dafydd to liberty and favour. Their names are mentioned together in a treaty offensive and defensive, concluded with the Scots,[1] March 18, 1258. Various skirmishes ensued, and terminated generally in favour of the Welsh, who prudently foresaw that the restoration of peaceful relations between the king and his barons must, whenever it might occur, bring united and resistless adversaries against themselves; that Owen ab Gruffydd, if liberated from captivity, might be tempted by revenge to stir up civil war within the principality; and that Dafydd and Rhodri might probably be led by jealousy to break up the nation into factions, and accelerate their country's ruin; therefore, availing themselves of present advantages, Prince Llewelyn and his district rulers agreed together to offer a sum of 4,000 marks to King Henry, 300 marks to Prince Edward, and 200 marks to the Queen, on condition that all injuries and offences should be forgiven and forgotten, and that the Welsh people should be permitted to retain their ancestral laws and liberty.

The king received this offer with scorn, and did not

[1] Rymer's Fœdera, ed. 1704, t. i. pp. 653–654.

CHAP. XXI.

condescend to answer it. The Welsh quietly awaited for a time the course of events, declaring that they would defend themselves against attack, resist encroachment and oppression, and faithfully maintain their country's cause, as their fathers had done, to the uttermost.

At the Parliament held in London soon after Easter, King Henry, resenting his half-brother's injuries, brought before the House the subject of the frequent irruptions of the Welsh, and the immediate necessity for checking and crushing that nation; and summonses were subsequently issued, directing all persons owing knightly service to the king to equip themselves with horses and arms, and to be ready at Chester to follow him into Wales on the Monday before the Nativity of St. John the Baptist, June 24. Murmurs of discontent resulted from this decree, because of the expense of scutage, and the inconvenience of taking men away from harvest work.

On June 11 the Parliament re-assembled at Oxford, the nobles ordering their knights to attend them, equipped and ready for martial service, under the pretext of showing that they were ready to set out with their united forces against the king's enemies in Wales, but in reality to guard themselves against the Poictevin favourites of the king, and to force him to observe strictly the conditions of the Magna Charta, which he had often before confirmed by solemn oaths, and as often unscrupulously violated. With these ends in view, they had prepared a series of resolutions conducing to the welfare, peace, and honour of the realm and its sovereign.

The required oaths were accordingly taken both by the king and his eldest son, the Poictevins fled, and the

vassals of the English nobles generally took arms throughout the kingdom; which lying already desolate from scarcity and pestilence, now became an arena of strife between the partisans of the unprincipled king and the great landowners of the country.

Six days after the opening of the Parliament at Oxford, Aman, abbot of Aberconwy, and Madog his son, the ambassadors of the Prince of Wales and Lord of Snowdon, concluded a truce with England upon the following terms.[1] It was to last from June 26, 1258, until August 1, 1259, and during that period the adverse parties were severally to retain their possessions, and neither of them, upon any pretext, to enter those of the other without permission; no obstruction was to be offered at fords or passes to free ingress and egress, and the king was permitted to victual and to keep up the garrisons of the castles of Tyganwy and Disserth, and to approach them either by sea, or under Llewelyn's safe-conduct by land.

Llewelyn having renewed the offer of peace, declaring himself and his people ready to clear themselves by judicial trial from the charges of robbery and murder made against them, Patrick de Canton, lord of Cydweli and seneschal of Caermarthen, with Maredudd ab Rhys Gryg, and the martial strength of Cydweli, Caermarthen, Pembroke, Rhos, and Cemaes, assembled together at Aberteifi, and acting under royal authority invited Dafydd ab Gruffydd, Maredudd ab Owen, and Rhys Fychan, with their martial followers, to hold a conference at Cilgerran on September 3. Under the sanction of Llewelyn, his brother and the rest marched accordingly from Maenor to keep the appointment. The

A.D. 1258.

[1] Rymer's Fœdera, ed. 1704, t. i. pp. 657, 658.

CHAP. XXI.

King of England's party present at the conference were far more numerous than the followers of the Welsh chieftains, and an English knight soon suggested to the seneschal, that a sudden attack should be made upon them, and that Dafydd, his coadjutors and attendants, should be beset and captured, and sent as an acceptable offering to King Henry. This treacherous suggestion he strengthened by threatening to denounce Lord Patrick's slackness if he refused to act upon it. An attack was consequently made, and many of Llewelyn's men were slain; but Dafydd and the rest, soon recovering from their astonishment, resisted manfully, and, after a severe conflict, worsted and routed their assailants, slaying the greater part of them, including Lord Patrick, Walter Malefiant, and Hugo de Vynes. The cowardly inciter of the mischief stole quietly away, and Maredudd ab Rhys with difficulty escaped and found shelter in the neighbouring castle.

A.D. 1259. § 4. On May 27,[1] Llewelyn, prince of Wales and lord of Snowdon, held a council at Arwystli, at which all the district rulers of the country who owned his sway being assembled, convicted Maredudd ab Rhys of treason to his sovereign and his country, and Llewelyn caused him to be arrested and imprisoned until he submitted to prescribed terms, and renewed his oaths of allegiance. The truce with England before its expiration was [2]prolonged for another year.

Maredudd ab Owen of Elfel, seceding from his enforced allegiance to his country's foes, invited the presence of Llewelyn, and gave up to him in January, 1260, the territory of Buallt. The Prince of Wales

[1] Annales Cambriæ, A.D. 1259, 1260; Brut y Tywysogion, A.D. 1258, 1260; Powel's Historie of Cambria; Wynne's History of Wales.

[2] Rymer's Fœdera, ed. 1704, t. i. pp. 669, 684, 697.

and his army received a joyful welcome from the inhabitants of that district, and marched thence into Dyfed, where he pillaged and destroyed the Flemish town of Dinbych y Pyscoed (Tenby).

This violation of the truce caused King Henry to issue a commission of inquiry, which produced no important results; but, in the following April, the settlers of Ceri and Cydweli celebrated St. George's day by an incursion upon their Cymric neighbours and by burning a town. A.D. 1260.

In July, King Henry assembled a parliament at Westminster, and Richard, bishop of Bangor, attended it, and offered, by the Prince of Wales's authority, conditions of peace. During the session Sir Roger Mortimer, the lord marcher, eldest son of the late Sir Ralph and of the Princess Gwladys, received the unwelcome tidings that the Prince of Wales had ravaged his lands in Maeleinydd, and obtained possession of the castle[1] of Buallt by the treachery of the garrison. This circumstance excited suspicions of Mortimer's loyalty in the minds of the king and prince and their partisans, and caused an inquiry to be instituted, which issued in acquitting him of all confederacy with Llewelyn.

From Buallt, Llewelyn set forth on a tour of conciliation through South Wales, receiving renewed oaths of fealty from the district rulers, whose allegiance had lately wavered, and afterwards returning to his stronghold at Aber in the Pen-maen-mawr.

The truce expired on August 1, and King Henry summoned[2] his feudatories inhabiting the counties of Hereford and Gloucester to assemble in arms on Sep-

[1] Rymer's Fœdera, ed. 1704, t. i. pp. 705, 706. [2] Ibid. pp. 706–709.

CHAP. XXI.

tember 8 at Shrewsbury, and all his other feudatories to be ready upon the same day at Chester, preparatory to a campaign against the Welsh. The superstitious monarch also caused the Archbishop of Canterbury to excommunicate the Prince of Wales, and to threaten that unless compensation was made, before August 22, to the Lords Marchers for the injuries done to their property, an interdict should be laid upon Llewelyn's dominions.

The command of this army was entrusted to Simon de Montfort, sixth earl of Leicester and second of that name. His chief earthly object was the establishment and maintenance of law, equity, and liberty in England; sympathising, therefore, with the Welsh in their aspirations for deliverance from intrusive tyrants, this great man promptly took measures to avert the intended war, and to renew the Oxford truce. Commissioners being appointed on both sides, they met on August 22 at Montgomery Ford, and adopting the conditions of the former treaty as a basis, added some less important articles, chiefly with a view to insure their fulfilment, and agreed upon a truce[1] commencing that very day, and to continue until June 24, 1262.

In the beginning of the year 1262, the Prince of Wales urged King Henry to establish a permanent peace, and offered to send ambassadors to settle its conditions. This proposal the king[2] declined on account of the absence of his eldest son, without whose concurrence, he said that he could not consent to receive such an embassy. In the course of the following spring, it appears that Llewleyn had complained to

[1] Annales Cambriæ, A.D. 1260; William de Rishanger's Continuation of Matthew Paris's English History, A.D. 1260; Rymer's Fœdera, ed. 1704, t. i. pp. 709–711, 718–720.

[2] Rymer's Fœdera, ed. 1704, t. i. pp. 739, 740.

Henry that Roger de Mortimer and John l'Estrange had broken the truce by an incursion upon the lands of Gruffydd of Broomfield, for, in a letter dated[1] June 8, the King informed the Prince of Wales that he had deputed Humphrey de Bohun and James Audeley to attend upon a certain day in July at Montgomery Ford to examine the charges. Before the arrival of the appointed day, King Henry, being on the Continent, received false tidings of Llewelyn's death. He consequently addressed to Philip Basset, the chief justiciary and regent, a letter stating the precautions which he had taken, supposing the rumour might be true, to defeat the probable claim of Dafydd to the sovereignty, alleging that as Llewelyn was not the lawful inheritor of the principality, Dafydd could not rightly succeed to it, Owen the eldest son of Gruffydd being still alive, and the fealty of the Welsh nobles belonging to himself as king of England.

In the event of Llewelyn's death, the justiciary was directed by this letter to assemble the military forces of England at Shrewsbury upon September 7, in readiness to march against the Welsh, and take advantage of the agitation, perplexity, and division consequent upon a change of sovereigns.

A communication from the Prince of Wales, complaining of several infractions of the truce by King Henry's vassals, soon gave that monarch abundant proof of Llewelyn's life and activity, and commissioners were subsequently appointed on both sides to meet on September 30,[2] at Montgomery Ford, and examine the alleged grievances.

[1] Rymer's Fœdera, ed. 1704, t. i. pp. 747, 748.

[2] Royal and other Historical Letters illustrative of the Reign of Henry III. vol. ii. No. 577, p. 214, No. 518, p. 216; Rymer's Fœdera, ed. 1704, t. i. p. 750.

CHAP. XXI.

A letter[1] from Peter de Montfort, governor of Abergavenny Castle, to Roger le Bigod, earl marshal, Philip Basset, justiciary of England, Sir John Mansel, and Robert Walerond, was written on Monday, October 2, in the same year, urgently demanding assistance, complaining of the insupportable expenses of the Welsh war, and detailing the events of an inroad which had been made on the previous Friday, headed by Wienoch ab Ednyfed Prince Llewelyn's seneschal, Maredudd ab Rhys, Rhys Fychan, Maredudd ab Owen, and all the pride of Wales, excepting the sovereign and his brothers.

Against these formidable warriors, Peter de Montfort defended the fords of the Usk until about noon on Saturday, when Grey, a Mortimer, a Fitz Peter, and Henry de Bohun brought their forces to his aid, and he led the combined host to a guardhouse above the town of Abergavenny, and thence across the river; but the Welsh troops perceiving the advance of the English dispersed themselves, many of them leaving their horses behind, and the greater number fleeing away across the Blorenge, where the Norman cavalry could not follow them. De Montfort and his allies, nevertheless, taking their course along the vale, where the Welsh foragers were scattered, killed or captured of them more than 300 men; and he describes the greater part of the fugitives, some on foot and some on horseback, as being while he wrote still scattered over the moors, or sheltered in the monasteries in all directions, and his own men as still engaged in searching for them. Anticipating with dread a renewed inroad to revenge their

[1] Royal and other Historical Letters illustrative of the Reign of Henry III. vol. ii. No. 581, p. 219, No. 588, p. 230, this last being a duplicate of one in Rymer's Fœdera, ed. 1704, t. i. pp. 591, 592.

present discomfiture, he demands and redemands relief and aid. His apprehensions were soon fulfilled, for, in a subsequent letter addressed in the same year to King Henry, he urgently entreats immediate aid, stating that Llewelyn had advanced his frontier within a league and a half of Abergavenny; that all the Welsh inhabitants of the lands belonging to Humphrey de Bohun, Reginald Fitz Peter, Robert de Turberville, Roger de Toeny, and other magnates of the Marches, favoured Llewelyn; and that, excepting Gilbert Talbot, who held three castles for Prince Edward, he had no coadjutor in his single-handed and desperate resistance.

On the night of November 29,[1] the men of Maelcinydd obtained forcible possession of Roger de Mortimer's castle at Cefn Llys, called also Castell Glan Ithon. They reduced it to a heap of ruins, slaying the garrison, and capturing the governor, Howel ab Meurig, together with his wife and children. Roger de Mortimer and Humphrey de Bohun, hearing of this exploit, speedily led their retainers to the spot, and pitching their tents within the shaking walls, set diligently about the task of restoring them. The Prince of Wales being informed of this, led his troops to Cefn Llys, and invested Castell Glan Ithon.

Peter Aquablanca, the Savoyard bishop of Hereford, in a contemporary letter[2] to the King, describes the forces of Llewelyn as consisting of 30,000 infantry and 300 cavalry; therefore, without slackening their watch and ward over the blockaded Marchers, detachments were employed in winning four other castles in that

[1] Annales Cambriæ, A.D. 1262; Brut y Tywysogion, A.D. 1262; Powel's Historie of Cambria; Wynne's History of Wales.

[2] Rymer's Fœdera, ed. 1704, t. i. pp. 754–755; Rishanger's Continuation of Matthew Paris's English History, A.D. 1263.

CHAP. XXI.

neighbourhood, besides Roger de Mortimer's castle at Cnwclas on the Teme, against which Llewelyn brought such formidable engines that the garrison surrendered on December 20. Meanwhile Mortimer, his friends and retainers, having lost 500 men in sallies and skirmishes and slain about 300 of the Welsh, remained cooped up in the ruins at Cefn Llys,[1] where they suffered so severely from want of food that they were compelled by hunger to adopt some means of saving their lives, and at length the proud Lord Marcher condescended to appeal to the prince's chivalric courtesy as a kinsman, and was suffered to depart in safety with his company. While they effected their retreat, Llewelyn visited Aberhonddu, and received oaths of fealty from the inhabitants, then making a hasty journey to Aber for the celebration of Christmas, he returned to South Wales and renewed his attacks upon the contiguous Marches, plundering and burning the lands near Weobley and Eardisley, ravaging those of Wigmore, and terrifying the citizens of Hereford by the near approach of his troops, so that they strengthened their fortifications, and, through their bishop, implored the king to send instantly to their relief, forty knights with their retainers.

§ 5. Soon after January 22, 1263,[2] Llewelyn commenced a new series of incursions upon the lands claimed by Prince Edward in North Wales, and the young Plantagenet, exhorting Gruffydd ab Gwenwynwyn, lord of Powys, to take the field with him against Llewelyn, soon entered upon a course of warlike

[1] Royal and other Historical Letters illustrative of the Reign of Henry III. vol. ii. No. 586, p. 228, No. 587, p. 229.

[2] Rymer's Fœdera, ed. 1704, t. i. p. 755; Annales Cambriæ, A.D. 1263; Brut y Tywysogion, A.D. 1263; Powel's Historie of Cambria; Wynne's History of Wales.

CHAP. XXI.

operations, which were completely frustrated by the dispersion of the Welsh forces, and the retreat of Llewelyn to a fastness among the mountains.

A.D. 1263.

These predatory expeditions were long continued, for, on April 25, Prince Edward wrote to his father, entreating him to order the Bishop of Hereford to fortify the castle of Ledbury North, and William d'Evereux to remain in the castle of Le Hales.

On the 27th day of the same month, Llewelyn ab Maredudd, one of the most distinguished princes of South Wales, was slain, together with a hundred of his followers, in unsuccessfully assaulting the castle of Clun, which belonged to John Fitz Alan, a lord marcher.

Prince Edward and his troops were soon afterwards recalled by the king to bear a part in the civil war, which had been provoked throughout England by that monarch's tyrannical extortions. Simon de Montfort, earl of Leicester, was in arms, and numerous bands of Welshmen joined his standard; while others, acting in concert with him, were led forth in various directions by their native chieftains. By some of these troops the obnoxious Bishop of Hereford was [1]captured in his cathedral church, led thence and imprisoned in the castle of Eardisley.

In July 1263, an alliance was formally entered into between the Prince of Wales[2] and the Earl of Leicester; and, early in August, Llewelyn marched to Disserth Castle, took it by assault, and demolished its fortifications.

About this time, Gruffydd ab Gwenwynwyn, lord of

[1] Chronicle of the Barons' Wars, by William de Rishanger, Halliwell's ed. p. 11; Chron. Tin. Leland, Antiq. Collect. ed. 1774, vol. i. p. 173.

[2] Chronicle of the Barons' Wars, by William de Rishanger, Halliwell's ed. pp. 14–20; William de Rishanger's Continuation of Matthew Paris's English History, A.D. 1263, Bohn's ed. p. 340.

CHAP. XXI.

Powys Isaf, forsook the cause of King Henry, and joined his forces with those of the Prince of Wales, to whom he renewed his homage acknowledging his sovereignty; and then, in the first zeal of his fresh patriotism, he led the men of Powys against the castle of Gwyddgrûg, called also Mold and Monthaut, took it by assault, and razed it to the ground.

On September 18,[1] King Henry, in a letter to Llewelyn ab Gruffydd, agrees to a truce to last from that date until the 11th day of the following November, the terms being less favourable to the English than those of the former truce, and liberty being reserved to victual and replenish the garrison of only one castle, that of Tyganwy, which the English called Gannock. It had even then been long invested by Llewelyn's troops, and the famishing garrison having eaten their hounds and horses, found the scanty supplies of provisions arrive too late, and capitulated upon September 29.

At this time Llewelyn's troops overrunning and ravaging at will the whole earldom of Chester, the boundaries of the kingdom of Gwynedd were once again extended to the banks of the river Dee.

A.D. 1264.

§ 6. Roger de Mortimer,[2] waging war on behalf of the king, ravaged the estates of the Earl of Leicester, whose sons made speedy reprisals on those of Mortimer.

The Prince of Wales and the younger Simon de Montfort jointly laid siege to the castle of Wigmore, in which the eldest son of Gwladys was then residing; but he contrived to elude their vigilance, and effected

[1] Rymer's Fœdera, ed. 1704, t. i. p. 775.

[2] Rishanger's Continuation of Matthew Paris, A.D. 1264, Bohn's ed. pp. 340, 342, 347–349; Annales Cambriæ; Brut y Tywysogion; Powel's Historie of Cambria; Wynne's History of Wales; Chron. Tin. Leland, Antiq. Collect. ed. 1774, vol. i. p. 174.

his escape in February 1264, when Prince Edward came in to the neighbourhood, and without attempting to relieve the castle received its fugitive lord, and marching westward with him took the castles of Humphrey de Bohun at Huntingdon, Hay, and Aberhonddu, and delivered them into Mortimer's hands, as some compensation for the losses he had sustained in the cause of the Plantagenets. While the English prince and his friend the Lord Marcher were thus occupied, the Prince of Wales and young Simon de Montfort, leaving Wigmore invested by their troops, made an excursion into Maesyfed, and took and burned Mortimer's castle at New Radnor, and returning thence succeeded in obtaining possession of Wigmore.

About the middle of April, John l'Estrange the younger, constable of Montgomery Castle, issued forth one evening with his fierce retainers and marched through Ceri, intending to surprise by night the castle of Cydewin; but the people of the neighbourhood, becoming aware of his purpose, gathered promptly together in great numbers, slew 200 of his men, and put him and the remainder to flight.

In another hostile encounter, which occurred soon afterwards near Clun (Colunwy), the Welsh were worsted by the Marchers.

On May 14, 1264, King Henry and his partisans unfurled their banners, and preceded by the royal standard bearing a salient dragon, advanced to try their warlike strength against the Earl of Leicester, the chief noblemen of England, and their Welsh auxiliaries, and, ere the sun went down that day, the monarch lost the battle of Lewes, and surrendered himself a prisoner to Simon de Montfort. Within a few days afterwards, Prince Edward delivered himself up to the

CHAP. XXI.

Earls of Leicester and Gloucester, and the other patriotic barons, who consigned him as a prisoner to the castle of Wallingford, and subsequently in turn to the castles of Kenilworth and Dover.

Gilbert de Clare, earl of Gloucester,[1] hitherto the friend and coadjutor of De Montfort, became at this time jealous of his supreme power, and that jealousy soon becoming known, attracted to him many noblemen who feared that the people might approve a change of dynasty in favour of the champion of their rights and liberties. The kinsmen and partisans of the captive king likewise hailed with joy so important an accession to their confederacy.

In the autumn of this year, De Clare and Mortimer left London secretly, and each of them repairing to his own Welsh district assembled his military retainers in arms.

The regal earl with the king marched promptly to Hereford, the Prince of Wales soon joined him there, and the allied forces proceeded in concert to ravage the neighbouring lands of their opponents, and seizing upon the castles of Hay and Ludlow, pursued their retreating adversaries to Montgomery, and obliged them to lay down their arms and to give hostages for the observance of a truce. On January 14, 1265, at a great council held in London, a decree of banishment to Ireland for three years was passed against De Clare, Mortimer, and the other Marchers who had taken part in the recent insurrection. The offenders, however, took refuge in the castles of De Clare and of Prince Edward, and entered upon a series of hostile expeditions against the Welsh.

[1] Rishanger's Continuation of Matthew Paris, A.D. 1265, Bohn's ed. pp. 351-356; Florence of Worcester, second Continuation, A.D. 1265; Rishanger's Chronicle of the Parons' Wars, Halliwell's ed. pp. 41-47.

§ 6. According to writs[1] issued by De Montfort in King Henry's name, a Parliament assembled in London on January 22, 1265, which is remarkable in the history of the English constitution as the first to which the counties, cities, and boroughs are certainly known to have sent regular representatives, the writs being still extant.

A.D. 1265. Gratitude and affection prompted him at this time to promise his daughter Eleanor in marriage to Llewelyn, and a sense of justice led him to endeavour to secure for Wales the ancestral and popular rights and liberties which he had staked his fortune and his life to win for England. These two remarkable men are said to have held a conference at Hawarden for the arrangement of a plan of combined action in opposition to the faction which upheld the tyrannous exactions of the Plantagenets.

In March, 1265, died Maredudd ab Gruffydd ab the Lord Rhys at Llanbadarn Fawr, and was buried in the chapterhouse of the monks at Ystrad Flûr.

Early in April the Earl of Gloucester raised his standard, avowedly in behalf of King Henry, and inviting all the friends and loyal subjects of that monarch to join in effecting his liberation. On the 25th of the same month De Montfort conducted the King and Prince Edward to Hereford, where he imprisoned the latter in the castle, and fixed his own headquarters, while his troops repeatedly skirmished with those of De Clare's partisans. To complete the desolation of South Wales, William de Valence, earl of Pembroke, the king's half-brother, John de Warrenne, earl of Surrey and Sussex, and other powerful friends of the captive monarch, arrived by sea at Penbroch on May 18;

[1] Rymer's Fœdera, ed. 1704, t. i. pp. 802–804.

CHAP. XXI.

and, on the 28th of the same month,[1] Prince Edward escaped from Hereford Castle by the contrivance of [2] Thomas de Clare and the aid of Mortimer, and putting himself at the head of the Lords Marchers proceeded to retake the castles which the Earl of Leicester and the Prince of Wales had acquired.

On June 7, in spite of De Montfort's precautions, Prince Edward took possession of Worcester, and broke down the bridges of the Severn. Supplies of men and stores being thus cut off from the Earl of Leicester, he attacked and destroyed De Clare's castle at Monmouth, and, still faithfully succoured by Llewelyn, devastated the neighbouring districts, with part of Morganwg, and entrenched himself with his royal prisoner at Newport.

Letters patent,[3] dated June 19, 1265, set forth by Llewelyn, prince of Wales and lord of Snowdon, from the castle of Pyperton, declare that he holds his principality and all that he possesses of the King of England as the princes his predecessors did of former Kings of England; and promise to pay 3000 marks sterling at Whittington, and to agree to the terms of peace. The seals of Llewelyn ab Gruffydd, Gruffydd ab Gwenwynwyn, Gruffydd ab Madoc, Howel and Madoc his brothers, Rhys Fychan, Howel ab Maredudd, Howel ab Rhys, Goronwy ab Ednyfed, Howel ab Bleddyn, and many other persons, attest this document.

By a charter dated June 22, 1265, King Henry, at the instigation of De Montfort, resigned to Llewelyn ab Gruffydd all claim to the actual possessions of that

[1] Rymer's Fœdera, ed. 1704, t. i. pp. 810, 811.

[2] Leland, Antiq. Brit. Collect. ed. 1774, t. iii. p. 417, from Thomas Wike's Annals.

[3] Royal and other Historical Letters, illustrative of the Reign of Henry III. vol. ii. No. 635, p. 285, No. 636, p. 287; Rymer's Fœdera, ed. 1704, t. i. p. 814.

prince, and gave up to him the cantref of Ellesmere, the lordship of Whittington, the castles of Hawarden, of Matilda, and of Montgomery, with their respective territories; and he also ceded to Llewelyn and his successors the sovereignty of Wales, and the right to receive the homage of all its nobles, reserving only to himself a fine of 3000 marks, and to the English crown the homage of the Prince of Wales.

From Newport, the regal earl returned to Hereford,[1] and hearing of Prince Edward's march to Kenilworth, and the danger of young Simon, who had thrown himself into that castle to avoid defeat and captivity, he hastened on to Kempsey, whence, finding that Prince Edward had returned to Worcester, the earl took the king away at nightfall, on August 1, to Evesham. The next day the prince cut off the earl's only way of access to Kenilworth by crossing the river near Claines. De Montfort, in reconnoitring on the evening of August 4, remarked to the officers of his staff the discretion and skill with which the adverse army was disposed, and said, 'They are approaching wisely, and they have learned this method from me, not of themselves. Let us therefore commend our souls to God, for our bodies are theirs.' He then urged Hugh le Despencer the lord justiciary, Ralph Basset, and others to flee and save themselves for better times, but they said they would not live if he died.

On Tuesday, August 5, Prince Edward, commanding one division of his army, the Earl of Gloucester another, and Roger de Mortimer the third, advanced steadily from three different points upon Evesham.

Surrender or battle were De Montfort's only alterna-

[1] Royal and other Historical Letters illustrative of the Reign of Henry III. vol. ii. No. 637, p. 288.

CHAP. XXI

tives; he chose the latter, and drew up his troops in the plain outside the town. The conflict which ensued was most severe, sanguinary, and obstinate, until at length, in the midst of appalling darkness attendant upon a violent storm of thunder and lightning, De Montfort's ranks gave way, he strove in vain by astonishing acts of personal prowess to rally his fugitives, and to redeem the day; and when at last he fell dead among the slain, the people thought they heard in the crashing thunder-peal the utterance of heaven's indignation against their champion's enemies. His noble friends kept their word and died with him. Henry, his eldest son, was also killed; and besides the men who died in battle, thousands who tried to escape, and more especially the Welsh, were massacred within and without the neighbouring abbey, drowned in the rivers Avon and Severn, and slaughtered on the banks by the merciless victors, who cut off the head, hands, and feet of the illustrious De Montfort, and sent one foot as a present to the Prince of Wales, insulting his grief in their savage exultation.

§ 7. On September 13, 1265,[1] Pope Clement IV. issued a bull commanding Llewelyn to restore all the castles he had taken, and to yield obedience to King Henry. This bull was brought to England by the legate Ottoboni.

On November 28, the King being at Westminster, authorized James Audeley[2] to treat with Llewelyn for the arrangement of a truce. Negotiations ensued, which do not appear to have produced any definite result, for the chroniclers mention several incursions made by the Lords Marchers in the following spring, one especially by Roger de Mortimer, whose whole

[1] Rymer's Fœdera, ed. 1704, t. i. pp. 823, 824.
[2] Ibid. pp. 834, 835.

host perished near Brecon, while he with difficulty escaped. In the winter of 1266, Gilbert de Clare, earl of Gloucester, took arms in behalf of the rights and laws for which De Montfort had cast away his life. The Prince of Wales[1] joined in this rising, but it soon subsided.

It was evidently Llewelyn's object, as well as his interest, at this time to secure by a durable peace as many as possible of those advantages which had been conceded to him in the king's name by the late Earl of Leicester. Prince Edward likewise desired peace, for he intended to join in the crusade, and was anxious to leave his father and the harassed English barons in undisturbed tranquillity. Robert Walerond was consequently sent on February 21, 1267, in the king's name, to Llewelyn, empowered to conclude with him a truce for two years, preparatory to a lasting peace. This truce was agreed to,[2] and in the following summer the king with his army arrived at Shrewsbury, and sent forward Ottoboni, the papal legate, together with Walerond and Geoffrey de Geneville, attended by a suitable retinue, to settle the conditions of the proposed peace. On September 25, the king issued from Shrewsbury a safe-conduct for Llewelyn to attend at the Ford of Montgomery and do homage, the protection extending only until the 30th day of the same month. On Michaelmas day King Henry in due state appeared at Montgomery, and Llewelyn met him there, attended by the principal men of his country.

[1] Florence of Worcester, Second Continuation, Bohn's ed. pp. 342, 343; Brut y Tywysogion, A.D. 1267; Annales Cambriæ, A.D. 1267; Rishanger's Continuation of Matthew Paris, A.D. 1267, 1268.

[2] Rymer's Fœdera, ed. 1704, t. i. pp. 840, 843–847; Annales Cambriæ, A.D. 1267; Brut y Tywysogion, A.D. 1267; Powel's Historie of Cambria; Wynne's History of Wales; Rishanger's Continuation of Matthew Paris, A.D. 1268; Woodward's History of Wales, part ii. pp. 466–469.

CHAP. XXI.

The treaty bears the double date of Shrewsbury, September 25, and Montgomery, September 29, 1267. Robert de Walerond and John de la Lynde swore to its observance on the part of the King and of Prince Edward; Eineon ab Caradog and Dafydd ab Eineon did the like for the Prince of Wales. The first clause declared mutual forgiveness of injuries. Llewelyn renounced all his victorious acquisitions, excepting only Brycheiniog and Gwarthrynion, and agreed to do justice in all of them after the custom of the Marches. Maeleinydd was left subject to adjudication between him and Roger Mortimer. Burget, Cydewin, and Ceri were assigned to him subject to the condition respecting the law of the Marches, and also Whittington Castle, reserving the actual possession of it to the knight who had previously received a grant of it from the king. The land of Hawarden—Pennard Halawg, or Pen y llwch—was to be given up by Llewelyn, but Robert de Monthaut was not to erect a castle there for thirty years. Gruffyd ab Gwenwynwyn was to retain all the lands which he had possessed previous to his desertion of King Henry's cause for that of Llewelyn, but Gruffydd likewise was sworn to the observance of the law of the Marches. Llewelyn and his heirs were to be styled successively and severally Prince of Wales, and to receive the homage of the native Welsh barons, who were to hold in chief of them, excepting Maredudd ab Rhys, to whom Llewelyn engaged to restore his lands to be held in the same manner of the king; or, in the event of Maredudd's homage being transferred by the king to the Prince of Wales, Maredudd was to pay to the king a fine of 5000 marks. Llewelyn promised to restore to his brother David all the lands which he had held, or was entitled to hold, before he joined

King Henry, subject to the arbitration of Gruffydd ab Gwenwynwyn under the supervision of the king's commissioners, and in accordance with the Welsh laws; but his claims must be made before the next following Christmas. The Perfeddwlad, otherwise known as the four cantrefs, were ceded to Llewelyn, on condition of his holding them of the English crown on the same tenure of feudal service as his ancestors. Neither the King of England nor the Prince of Wales was to harbour the enemies, or escaped criminals, of the other. This treaty annulled all previously existing ones. The Prince of Wales agreed to pay a fine of 25,000 marks by yearly instalments, subject to augmentation at a specified rate in the event of delay.

On August 17, 1268,[1] King Henry appointed several commissioners to attend at Montgomery Ford on September 14 following, to hear and decide all questions relative to the law of the Marches according to the terms of the preceding treaty.

On May 21, 1269, a similar commission was appointed, in which Prince Edward and certain associates were empowered to attend on the 23rd at Montgomery Ford, to adjudicate similar causes. On September 23, in the same year, Prince Edward was authorized by the king to take possession of the town of Shrewsbury and its adjacent districts; and that politic prince was consequently enabled, without the further interference of his father, to entrust the Marches and border lands to the custody of sturdy and attached guardians previous to his own departure for Palestine.

On October 17, 1268,[2] death deprived the Prince of Wales of his trusty chief counsellor, Goronwy ab

[1] Rymer's Fœdera, ed. 1704, t. i. pp. 850, 851, 855.
[2] Brut y Tywysogion; Powel's Historie of Cambria.

CHAP. XXI.

Ednyfed Fychan, the son of that Ednyfed Fychan who had been chief counsellor to Llewelyn ab Iorwerth.

On December 7, 1269, Gruffydd, lord of Dinas Brân, passed away, and was buried in the abbey of Vale Crucis.

On October 13, 1270, the Prince of Wales, urged by some unrecorded acts of provocation, burned down the Earl of Gloucester's castle at Caerphilly.[1] The 3rd of November was consequently ordered to be the day for commissioners to meet at Montgomery Ford in the king's name, to investigate the charges made against Llewelyn, and to adjudicate upon them after the custom of the Marches; the presence of the prince and earl being strictly enjoined.

If this meeting ever took place, it produced no good effect, for on June 1, 1271, the earl commenced the restoration of the castle, and in process of time had nearly completed it, when Llewelyn announced that unless the earl made full and immediate compensation to him for certain injuries, he would, three days hence, again destroy Caerphilly. De Clare in alarm consigned the castle to the care of the Bishops of Worcester, Coventry, and Lichfield, to be held in the king's name, until the disputed points between himself and the Prince of Wales could be duly tried according to the treaty of 1267. Llewelyn reluctantly raised the siege and permitted this arrangement to take place on November 2, 1271; the three prelates in the king's name issuing an order for the cause to be tried at Montgomery Ford on July 8, 1272. When this day drew near, the trial was postponed to a more distant one; and when that approached, it was again put off, upon

[1] Rymer's Fœdera, ed. 1704, t. i. pp. 865, 866; Brut y Tywysogion, A.D. 1270; Arch. Camb. October, 1850.

the pretext that the king was going to the Continent to do homage to the King of France and therefore could not be present. The letter containing this excuse warned Llewelyn, as former ones had done, against warlike proceedings.

A subsequent letter and the last ever addressed in Henry's name to Llewelyn, acknowledges the arrival of communications conveyed by the Bishop of St. Asaph from that prince, complaining of the gross breaches of the treaty committed by De Clare and De Bohun, and yet again postpones the long promised trial at Montgomery Ford to the next quindisme of Easter, exhorting the aggrieved prince meanwhile to observe the peace. The quindisme[1] of Easter includes the eight days immediately preceding and the eight immediately following Easter Day, so that, supposing that day to be March 25, the quindisme would begin on March 18, and end on April 1.

§ 8. King Henry died[2] November 16, 1272, and Gilbert de Clare, earl of Gloucester, was among the first[3] who swore fealty to the absent heir. Within a fortnight after Henry's death, the members of the regency summoned Llewelyn[4] to present himself on 20th January next, at Montgomery Ford, to renew his allegiance by performing homage to certain abbots specially authorized to receive it. The abbots kept the appointment, but neither Llewelyn nor any deputy of his attended.

About the middle of the year 1273, the [5]Prince of Wales aroused the fears of the Constable of Montgomery Castle by beginning to erect a fortress and

[1] L'Art des Verifier les Dates, quoted by Sir Harris Nicolas, Chronology of History, ed. 1833, p. 100.

[2] Nicolas, Chronology of History, p. 201.

[3] Rymer's Fœdera, ed. 1705, t. ii. p. 1. [4] Ibid. p. 2, and pp. 3, 4.

[5] Woodward's History of Wales, part ii. pp. 473–475.

CHAP. XXI.

market-place in that immediate neighbourhood. The Prior of Wenloch was consequently ordered by the regency to deliver a letter of prohibition into Llewelyn's own hands, and to receive his answer. The remonstrance proved effectual, and the works were abandoned.

A letter from the Prince of Wales to R. de Grey, dated September 3, 1273, acknowledges the receipt of letters from the king relating to the 2,000 marks due to Pontius Mora, and the 3,000 then due to the monarch, and inviting the prince to attend the coronation, which was fixed for April 8 in the following year. Llewelyn promises ready compliance with the request that venison might be sent for the festival. The return of the king, however, was delayed, and consequently the coronation was postponed.

Commissioners[1] were appointed by the regency to meet at Montgomery Ford on May 6, 1274, to try causes according to the existing treaty; and the Prince of Wales, the Viscounts of Worcestershire, Herefordshire, Shropshire, Staffordshire, and Gloucestershire, were directed to be present either in person or by deputy.

Early in August,[2] Edward arrived in England, and his coronation took place on the 19th of that month. The Prince of Wales did not attend at it, nor did he obey a subsequent summons to do homage at Canterbury[3]; but he communicated to the Pope the fears which he and his people entertained of endangering their lives by travelling through disturbed districts, complained of the wrong inflicted by summoning them to Canterbury for the settlement of ecclesiastical causes,

[1] Rymer's Fœdera, ed. 1705, t. ii. p. 25.
[2] Ibid. p. 34; Nicolas, Chronology of History, p. 292.
[3] Rymer's Fœdera, ed. 1705, t. ii. pp. 35, 36, 41, 42, 53.

and then punishing their alleged contumacy by excommunication and interdict.

The Pope saw the force of this reasoning, and, on August 18, forbade that the Welsh should be thus summoned thither for the future: he likewise, at the same time, addressed a bull to the Prince of Wales, confirming an arrangement made by the Bishops of Bangor and St. Asaph concerning Prince David's lands, and constituting those prelates arbitrators on disputed points of that intricate business.

The excuses offered by the Prince of Wales for his delay in doing homage appear to have been hitherto accepted civilly by the king, who, on November 3, issued a summons for Llewelyn to meet him on December 2 at Shrewsbury. The day was afterwards changed to November 25, but, ere that time arrived, an attack of illness warned the king that he could not attend, and he wrote on the 22nd to Llewelyn expressing his disappointment, and reminding him that 6,000 marks were due for the last two years' instalments besides the 2,000 to Pontius de Mora.

Early in the year 1275,[1] Llewelyn being at home in his palace at Aber, entertained his brother Dafydd as a guest, together with Dafydd's retainers, and expected with friendly hospitality the arrival of Owen ab Gruffydd ab Gwenwynwyn to share their social board and the pleasures of the chase. Prince Owen arrived, but the knights who were to have accompanied him were prevented from coming by the bad weather, which rendered many parts of the country impassable. Dafydd being much troubled by this circumstance, left his

[1] Annales Cambriæ, A.D. 1274; Brut y Tywysogion, A.D. 1274; Powel's Historie of Cambria; Wynne's History of Wales; Rymer's Fœdera, ed. 1705, t. ii. pp. 64, 65.

CHAP. XXI.

brother's court abruptly, and Owen disconcerted, and fearing that one or other of his accomplices might betray him, made full confession to Llewelyn of a plot formed by Prince Dafydd, who, desiring to obtain the sovereignty of Wales, had intended, on a certain night during his sojourn, to conduct Owen with his knights to Llewelyn's sleeping-place, that they might murder him. Owen had been won to promise his aid in this conspiracy by Dafydd's offer of his daughter in marriage, endowed either with Cydewin and Ceri, or with the private patrimony of Llewelyn in Y Perfeddwlad. The Prince of Wales being informed of these particulars, cited Dafydd to appear at Rhuddlan and answer to the charge of treason. Dafydd refused to do so unless furnished with a safe-conduct; an accusation was therefore formally drawn up, and a day fixed for him to appear and answer it; but before that day arrived, he had mustered a strong band of armed men, left his abode; found refuge with Llewelyn's enemies, and with them commenced a series of predatory incursions upon Llewelyn's territories.

Meanwhile, the Prince of Wales having learned that sealed documents embodying the terms of this treasonable compact were kept at Castell Tre'r Llyn (Welshpool) in the safe custody of Owen's mother, sent messengers[1] thither to demand them. Gruffydd ab Gwenwynwyn, prince of Powys Isaf, Owen's father, received the messengers, offered them hospitable accommodation for the night, and promised to accompany them on the morrow into Llewelyn's presence; but having thus plausibly beguiled them, he cast them into

[1] Annales Cambriæ, A.D. 1274; Brut y Tywysogion, A.D. 1274; Powel's Historie of Cambria; Wynne's History of Wales; Rymer's Fœdera, ed. 1705, t. ii. pp. 64, 65.

a deep dungeon, marshalled and victualled his garrison, burned all the neighbouring buildings, and prepared his castle to stand a siege. He then called together a strong band of armed men, and with them left his home, entered the border-land, and joined the Marchers in making predatory incursions upon Llewelyn's territories. The remonstrances addressed to him by a deputation of Welsh ecclesiastics were vain, and he went afterwards to Shrewsbury, and joined Prince Dafydd in plotting new acts of treason.

Another summons from King Edward fixed August 29, 1275, for Llewelyn to meet him at Chester, and take the long delayed oath of allegiance. Messengers and letters from Llewelyn assigned reasons for his non-attendance, based upon his apprehensions of personal danger, and upon the king's refusal of a fit escort to ensure his safety. The king remained at Chester until September 10,[1] and on that day wrote in anger to the Prince of Wales, stating that, as he had often and vainly commanded his attendance at Chester, he should now expect him to come to Westminster within three weeks after Michaelmas, and that he had appointed an escort of honourable men to whom he might safely entrust himself.

On September 11,[2] Llewelyn, being at Treddyn, addressed a letter to the Pope, in which he recapitulated the chief parts of Ottoboni's treaty, and complained of the infractions committed by Edward in retaining certain lands belonging to him to his injury and that of the rightful tenants. Llewelyn also complained that fugitives who had sought his life were sheltered by Edward, who had summoned him to unsafe places to do homage, and refused to send persons

[1] Rymer's Fœdera, ed. 1705, t. ii. p. 57. [2] Ibid. pp. 57–59.

CHAP. XXI.

properly authorized to receive his oaths of allegiance. He therefore entreated the Pope to defer his judgment upon these subjects during the impending war.

Llewelyn, writing from Talybont,[1] on October 6, addressed a letter to the Archbishop of Canterbury, and to all the English prelates, begging their interference to procure justice and to prevent war.

He did not appear at Westminster at the time appointed, but he sent messengers to repeat his former statements of apprehended peril, remembering his father's fate, and knowing that Dafydd and Gruffydd were reckoned among the king's friends.

At this time Eleanor de Montfort resided with her mother, the half-sister of King Henry III., and the widow of the great Earl of Leicester, at the convent of Montargis in France. The King of France was the maiden's feudal guardian, and to him,[2] as well as to the countess, Llewelyn addressed the request that the marriage might no longer be delayed. His ambassadors were empowered to plight his troth to Eleanor, and to enter into a treaty of alliance, offensive and defensive, with the French king. They bore to Philip a letter from Llewelyn, promising on his own behalf, and on that of all the subordinate princes of Wales, friendship and constant attachment, asserting that he has by force of arms recovered great part of the land and the strongest castles which his enemies, who are also Philip's enemies, had previously by fraud and treachery subjugated to their tyranny. He and the confederated princes of Wales entreat, therefore, that the King of France will not make truce or peace with the English, assuring him that they will not on any

[1] Powel's Historie of Cambria, ed. 1584, pp. 329–333.

[2] Woodward's History of Wales, part ii. pp. 476–478.

account, nor for the sake of any advantage, be henceforth yoked with them in any league or peace without first obtaining his concurrence. CHAP. XXI.

In accordance with these arrangements, Eleanor de Montfort,[1] under the care of her brother Amaury,[2] an ecclesiastic, and attended by a stately retinue, embarked on board four French ships, and set sail for Wales. King Edward, however, had a spy in the bridal train, who gave information which enabled that monarch to intercept, surprise, and capture Eleanor and her convoy at sea, off the Scilly Isles. She was placed under the protection of the queen, and treated with great respect as the king's kinswoman, but her brother was sent as a prisoner to a fortress. A.D. 1276.

[1] Florence of Worcester, Second Continuation.

[2] Rymer's Fœdera, ed. 1705, t. ii. pp. 144–146, 178, 179, 185–187, 188, 189, 192–194, 197, 198.

CHAPTER XXII.

THE ANGLO-NORMANS AND THE CYMRY.

FROM THE CAPTURE OF ELEANOR DE MONTFORT TO THE DEATH OF LLEWELYN AB GRUFFYDD, A.D. 1275–1282.

Why then doth Flesh, a bubble glass of breath,
Hunt after honour and advancement vain,
And rear a trophy for devouring death
With so great labour and long lasting pain,
As if his days for ever should remain?
Sith all that in this world is great or gay,
Doth as a vapour vanish and decay.

SPENSER: *Ruines of Time.*

CHAP XXII.

§ 1. THE next summons addressed to the Prince of Wales[1] ordered him to appear at Winchester on January 20, 1276, to do homage, and it was answered only by repetitions of the reasons formerly assigned for non-attendance.

King Edward then proceeded to summon him to appear at Westminster within three weeks after the festival of Easter. On April 19, therefore,[2] the Dean and Chapter of Bangor wrote a letter to the Archbishop of Canterbury intended to exculpate the Prince of Wales from a charge of contumacy, and to impress upon the primate the truth and importance of the statements made by that prince six months before.

[1] Woodward's History of Wales, part ii. c. xxviii. pp. 464–486.

[2] Rymer's Fœdera, ed. 1705, t. ii. pp. 64, 65.

The dean and chapter in their letter detail the particulars of Prince Dafydd's conspiracy, the temperate measures taken by Llewelyn on that occasion, the defection of the Prince of Powys Isaf, and the confession of his son Owen.

This letter affected the archbishop so much that, together with several bishops and earls, he obtained the king's permission to endeavour to persuade Llewelyn to do homage, and they consequently sent the Archdeacon of Canterbury on repeated missions to him.

Early in October, the Prince of Wales wrote to King Edward, assuring him of his readiness to attend, either at Montgomery or at Oswestry, to do homage, provided that the king would ensure his safety in going, staying, and returning, by appointing for his escort the Archbishop of Canterbury and his archdeacon, the Bishop of Winchester, the Earls of Cornwall, Norfolk, and Gloucester, and some other noblemen, and would previously by letter confirm the treaty of 1267, supplement that treaty in some defective particulars, and give up Eleanor de Montfort his affianced wife with her attendants.

This letter having been read before the king and council on November 12,[1] it was formally resolved that Llewelyn ab Gruffydd had broken the peace, and should henceforth be treated as a rebel; that the king's military tenants should be summoned to meet in arms at Worcester, on June 24, unless greater haste should be required; that the Marches should be strictly guarded, and all intercourse with Llewelyn prohibited.

On the day after this order in council, the Archbishop of Canterbury[2] with other bishops and noblemen ad-

[1] Rymer's Fœdera, ed. 1705, t. ii. pp. 68, 69.

[2] Ibid. p. 71.

CHAP XXII.

dressed a letter to the Prince of Wales and Lord of Snowdon, informing him that, as a disturber of the peace and breaker of the laws, it would be their painful duty to pronounce against him the ban of excommunication, unless within a fortnight after the reception of this notice he chose to make amends, and to adopt wiser counsel.

Two days after the date of the above missive, [1] Roger de Mortimer accepted the appointment of commander of the local forces against Llewelyn; and, on the third day, William de Beauchamp, commandant at Chester, was authorized to receive into amity any of the Welsh people who might desire to renounce their connection with Llewelyn.

The summons to the king's military and ecclesiastical tenants did not issue until December 12, and July 1 was then finally fixed for their assembling at Worcester.

Paganus de Cadurcis,[2] commandant in Caerfyrddin and Ceredigion, soon afterwards effected the destruction of the principal castles in those districts, and subjugated the adjacent territories to the king. Hence it appears that the Prince of Wales was hemmed in and beset on all sides by strong bands of vigilant foes, preparatory to the march of the king and his army.

A.D. 1277. The primate, after waiting six weeks for an answer to his premonitory warning, pronounced the sentence of excommunication[3] against Llewelyn personally, and threatened the same to all who aided his cause, unless within a month they submitted themselves to the king. The fealty of many was shaken by this threat; and

[1] Rymer's Fœdera, ed. 1705, t. ii. pp. 71–76.

[2] Annales Cambriæ, A.D. 1275; Brut y Tywysogion, A.D. 1276; Powel's Historie of Cambria, p. 334; Wynne's History of Wales, p. 283; Chron. Tin. Leland, Antiq. Brit. Collect. ed. 1774, vol. i. p. 177.

[3] Rymer's Fœdera, ed. 1705, t. ii. pp. 79–81.

about Easter,[1] Rhys ab Maredudd went to Caermarthen and entered into an amicable arrangement with Paganus de Cadurcis, stipulating that he should receive Castell Dinefawr with the adjacent districts of Maenor Deilo, Mallaen, Caeo, and Mabelfen, do homage to the king for all his lands, and hold them of him if he pleased *in capite*. Rhys promised to assist the king in the approaching campaign, and assented to the proposition that, if Gruffydd ab Maredudd ab Owen should also accept peace from the king, he would give up his claims on Gwenyonydd and Mabwynion for an equitable compensation from the king.

To meet the exigences alike of peace and war, King Edward now caused the courts of law to migrate from Westminster to Shrewsbury and there to hold their sittings: he commanded a fleet from the Cinque Ports to attack the island of Anglesey; and sent Prince Edmund,[2] his brother, with fresh forces to establish a strong military position at Llanbadarn Fawr. On June 24[3] the sagacious monarch was at Chester, watching the gradual arrival of his troops, and superintending their encampment upon Saltney Marsh.

As soon as they had all assembled, he led them onward against the Welsh, fording the river Dee at Shotwick, passing along the estuary and capturing Flint Castle, securing all the intervening fortresses, and then seizing upon Rhuddlan,[4] while stalwart pioneers hewed down trees and prepared a road for the army, through the wide and thick forest which shielded the alpine valleys.

[1] Brut y Tywysogion, A.D. 1277; Rymer's Fœdera, ed. 1705, t. ii. p. 81.

[2] Annales Cambriæ, A.D. 1276, and note 2.

[3] Florence of Worcester, Second Continuation.

[4] Pennant's Tours in North Wales, ed. 1810, vol. ii. pp. 123, 124.

CHAP. XXII.

Prince David[1] accompanied the king, and by his knowledge of the country and people contributed greatly to the success of the invasion. Rhodri ab Gruffydd, who had lately escaped from prison,[2] fled to King Edward, who received him with favour; and the still captive Owen found means to communicate his sympathy with the cause of his alienated brothers, and his good wishes to the King of England.

Anglesey being held in check by the naval forces, and the whole of Wales occupied by hostile troops acting in concert with the main army, Llewelyn could only retreat to the mountains, and strengthen the defences of their almost impregnable fortresses. Nevertheless, King Edward's progress was slow, his numerous troops began to feel the hardships of cold and scarcity, and he had withdrawn to the castle of Rhuddlan for shelter and supplies, before the Prince of Wales submitted to solicit peace. The request was granted, and Llewelyn ratified the treaty at Aberconwy on November 10, 1277. It specified[3] that he should pay a fine of 50,000 pounds sterling, resign for ever the four cantrefs, and all the lands of which the king had recently obtained possession, excepting only the isle of Anglesey, which Edward engaged should be restored to him for an annual rent of 1,000 marks; that the Prince of Wales should be relieved from the ban of excommunication, and then do homage at Rhuddlan for his dominions; that his brother Owen, the prisoner of Dolbadern, should be released from captivity, and either an amicable arrangement approved by the king

[1] Rymer's Fœdera, ed. 1705, t. ii. pp. 86, 87; Chron. Tin. Leland, Antiq. Brit. Collect. ed. 1774, p. 177.

[2] Trivet, quoted by Woodward, History of Wales, part ii. p. 483, and by Lhoyd in Powel's Historie of Cambria, p. 335.

[3] Rymer's Fœdera, ed. 1705, t. ii. pp. 88-90.

should be made with him, or else Prince Owen was to put himself under the king's protection, and institute a lawsuit in the Welsh courts against Llewelyn; that Rhys ab Gruffydd also was to be set at liberty and put into possession of such lands as he had held when he previously submitted himself to the king; that Owen ab Gruffydd ab Gwenwynwyn and other imprisoned princes and noblemen were to be unconditionally set free. Llewelyn was allowed to retain for life the homage of the Princes of Powys and of Deheubarth, who were to be reinstated in their possessions. King Edward granted the patrimony of Prince David to the Prince of Wales, engaging to make compensation for it to the former, and retaining for himself a right of inheriting that patrimony upon the death of either of those two brothers. The king undertook to see that the just claims of Owen and Rhodri, Llewelyn's brothers, should be satisfied. All the other lands of the Prince of Wales were confirmed to himself and his heirs. Such were the chief stipulations of the treaty, supplemented[1] by some minor arrangements, and provisions for the settlement of disputed points.

Lewelyn paid down 2,000 marks, and received from Edward an acquittance from the obligation to pay 1,000 marks yearly for Anglesey.

Other deeds bearing the same date were executed by Llewelyn to the same effect as the treaty, with the requisite alteration subsequent to annulling the obligation to pay 1,000 marks annually for Anglesey. King Edward forgave the fine of 50,000 marks sterling, and, a few days afterwards, the Prince of Wales, in a deed dated from Aberconwy, made over to the king the reversionary inheritance of the isle of Anglesey. This

[1] Rymer's Fœdera, ed. 1705, t. ii. pp. 90-92, 95.

CHAP. XXII.

business being concluded, the king dismissed his army, and returned to London. He gave to Roger de Mortimer the castles of Ceri, Cydewin, and Dolyforwyn, and made Prince David seneschal of all the royal English castles in North Wales, with lands worth a 1,000*l.* yearly. He gave also to Prince David the lordship and honour of Frodsham in Cheshire, and the hand and wealth of Eleanor, the widowed daughter of Robert de Ferrars, the late [1]earl of Derby; adding to all these benefits higher personal favour than English monarch ever gave to Welsh prince before.

On December 6,[2] the king publicly announced that he had taken under his protection the Prince of Wales and his retinue until the next ensuing second of February, committing them to the guardian escort of the king's chancellor the Bishop of Bath and Wells, the king's treasurer the Prior of the Knights of St. John, Henry de Lacy, earl of Lincoln, Roger de Mortimer, and Roger de Clifford. At Christmas, accordingly, Llewelyn arrived in London, performed the long delayed act of homage, and afterwards, from his lodgings in the neighbourhood of that city, sent letters[3] and messengers to his affianced bride, who was then at Windsor, and for whose release from captivity the King of France was at this time interceding. King Edward now consented to the proposed marriage, and gave his sanction to the arrangements made by Llewelyn for Eleanor's[4] dower.

The prince's retinue were dissatisfied with the diet supplied to them, requiring more abundant quantities of milk, and disliking the unaccustomed kinds of bread, beer, and wine. They were also hurt and offended by

[1] Nicolas, Synopsis, vol. i. p. 187.
[2] Rymer's Fœdera, ed. 1705, t. ii. p. 96. [3] Ibid. p. 97. [4] Ibid.

the rude curiosity of the people, who crowded around them, making remarks aloud upon their dress and language. The prince and his attendants consequently resolved that they would visit London no more unless they came as conquerors. Soon after January 4, 1278, they returned into Gwynedd, and the prince proceeded to[1] execute strictly the terms of the treaty concerning all legal causes before the Justiciaries of the Marches, in which his name appeared either as plaintiff or defendant.

'King Edward soon afterwards went through the politic ceremony of presiding at the re-interment of the alleged remains of King Arthur at Glastonbury; evidently intending, by this act of respect, at once to soothe the feelings of the Cymry, and to extinguish their hope of that hero's return.

§ 2. A parliament was held in the spring, and Llewelyn refused to attend it. In the course of June and July, he complained in letters to the king of various wrongs done to him and to his people by the Justiciaries and by Gruffydd ab Gwenwynwyn. Commissioners were consequently appointed; the king[2] wrote temperately and kindly to the prince, and early in August visited the Marches, when Llewelyn met him as a friend, and the peace remained unbroken.

On October 13[3] the King and Queen of England with their court, and the King of Scotland, being at Worcester, the Prince of Wales by previous arrangement came thither, and in their presence married Eleanor de Montfort, whom he conducted immediately after-

[1] Rymer's Fœdera, ed. 1705, t. ii. p. 109.

[2] Ibid. pp. 116, 117, 119, 125, 126, 172.

[3] Florence of Worcester, Second Continuation; Annales Cambriæ, A.D. 1277; Brut y Tywysogion, A.D. 1278.

CHAP. XXII.

wards to his favourite residence, [1]Aber, in the Penmaen-mawr.

On November 10, 1279, King Edward and his brother Prince Edmund effected an [2]exchange which tended to concentrate and strengthen the power of the king in Wales, Edmund resigning to him all his lands and castles in Caerfyrddin and Ceredigion, and receiving in their stead estates in England.

In the years 1280–81[3] great mortality occurred among the cattle and sheep in Wales, and, during the last of those two years, nearly all the flocks of Morganwg perished. The fact that wolves infested the border lands, and doubtless the interior also, at this period, shows the desolation wrought by warfare, and the imperfect occupation of the country.

This grievous murrain increased the distress of the people, and augmented their discontent. The [4]inhabitants of Y Perfeddwlad, holding their lands subject at their own option either to the Welsh or English laws, felt aggrieved at the violation of this tenure by the compulsory establishment among them of English judicature.

A letter from the Princess of Wales to the king, written July 8, 1280,[5] begs him not to credit any reports of disaffection either on her part or on her husband's, and assures him of their kind recollection of the honour which he had done them at Worcester. On October 18, in the same year, the princess sent to the king an earnest letter of intercession, pleading for the liberation of her brother Aylmer, who was still detained

[1] Rymer's Fœdera, ed. 1705, t. ii. p. 1074. [2] Ibid. p. 142.
[3] Woodward's History of Wales, part ii. c. cxxix. pp. 487, 488.
[4] Literary Remains of the Rev. T. Price, vol. i. pp. 352, 370, 371.
[5] Rymer's Fœdera, ed. 1705, t. ii. pp. 1076–1078.

a prisoner. The bond of peace between England and Wales was broken, [1]June 19, 1281, by the death of this amiable woman. She was buried in the house of the Friars Minor at Llanfaes, in the isle of Anglesey.

On June 9, 1281,[2] King Edward addressed a letter to the Prince of Wales, informing him that, in consequence of the result of an inquisition made by jury before the Bishop of St. David's and others, concerning the laws and customs formerly used in Wales and the Marches, the rolls of briefs and pleas being inspected and found to accord with that result, he had decided that those old customs should be observed, and had instructed his justiciaries that the long-pending cause between the Prince of Wales and Gruffydd ab Gwenwynwyn should be promptly decided in accordance with the laws and customs of Wales. Nevertheless, the promise of speedy adjudication was not fulfilled, and the Prince of Wales, provoked by repeated postponements, and irritated by useless summonses, was rendered at length fiercely indignant by King Edward's absolute refusal to bring the case into court unless the prince would consent to have it tried by English laws.

The choleric and fickle David took affront about this time at being treated by King Edward as a feudal baron of the realm and not as a royal personage, and in this evil hour returning to Wales, obtained forgiveness, and was re-admitted into his brother Llewelyn's council.

§ 3. The Palm Sunday of the year 1282 passed quietly away at Penharddlech (Hawarden Castle), but, on the following night, marked in Romish calendars as the feast of St. Benedict, March 21,[1] Prince David and

[1] Florence of Worcester, Second Continuation; Brut y Tywysogion, p. 365.

[2] Rymer's Fœdera, ed. 1705, t. ii. p. 172.

CHAP. XXII.

a strong military force surprised that stronghold, slew Fulk Trisold, the governor, with all the garrison, captured Roger de Clifford the justiciary in his bed, and carried him off, together with Payn Gamage, into the wilds of Eryri, where he immured them in a fortress. David then joined his troops to those of the Prince of Wales, which attacked and took by assault the castles of Flint and Rhuddlan.

Meanwhile, and evidently by preconcert, Rhys Fychan ab Rhys ab Maelgwn with his sons Gruffydd and Llewelyn, and the brothers Gruffydd and Cynan ab Maredudd ab Owen, took arms in South Wales, destroyed the castle which Prince Edmund had built at Llanbadarn Fawr, and took forcible possession of the castles of Llanymddyfri and Carreg Cennin.

Llewelyn was enraged by the oppressive and unjust proceedings[2] of Reginald de Grey, the king's justiciary, against the inhabitants of the four cantrefs which had formed his patrimonial property, subjecting them to punishment for old and condoned offences, altering the assured tenure of their lands, and setting up many new customs. He complained also of similar acts of injustice and cruelty practised by the justiciary towards his immediate subjects, and of the threats enforcing the claims of the queen dowager to the 2,000 marks yet remaining unpaid of his debt to the late king, and, more emphatically than all other grievances, he protested against the alleged intention of King Edward, when next he came to Rhuddlan, to make him a captive, declaring that he had been warned of this intention by persons worthy of belief. Prince David, likewise, set

[1] Florence of Worcester, Second Continuation; Chron. Tin. Leland, Antiq. Brit. Collect. ed. 1774, vol. i. p. 178.

[2] Powel's Historie of Cambria, ed. 1584, pp. 340-363.

forth a list of grievances in excuse or extenuation of his inconstancy.

The men of Rhos and Tegeingl, two of the four cantrefs, recited also for themselves their serious and grievous wrongs; and Goronwy ab Heilyn of Rhos set forth the abuses of nominal law by which he and his dependents had long and sadly suffered before intolerable ills impelled him to revolt.

The chiefs of Ystrad Alun complained in a similar strain of injuries inflicted upon them by Roger de Clifford and his deputy Roger Crosskill.

The men of Penllyn complained of their sufferings under the violent exactions of Henry Chambers, the constable of Ty Gwyn, and his retainers; and other northern districts set forth other statements of their miseries.

From South Wales, Rhys Fychan of Ystrad Towy, and his sons Llewelyn and Rhys, issued protestations against the sacrilegious desecration, plunder, and arson of local churches, and against broken covenants; while the sons of Maredudd ab Owen joined to those accusations, charges of lawless interference, and complained that, since the last war, they had been deprived of their ancient code and customs.

King Edward received the tidings of this insurrection at Devizes, and, without a moment's delay, he sent off reinforcements to his troops in the Marches. On March 28,[1] the day before Easter Sunday, he wrote to the Archbishop of Canterbury, directing him to excommunicate the rebels, that the ban of the Church might encourage his soldiers and depress the spirits of their opponents. Meanwhile, the Welsh continued to ravage the Marches and all the king's lands in Wales,

[1] Rymer's Fœdera, ed. 1705, t. ii. pp. 188, 189.

CHAP. XXII.

the forces opposed to them proving too weak to withstand the wild torrent of popular fury.

§ 4. Besides summoning his [1] barons to meet him with their retainers at Worcester upon May 17, calling out the fleet of the Cinque Ports, and making other warlike preparations, the king commanded the clergy to perform extraordinary masses, psalteries, and processions in that city, to invoke success for his expedition, forbidding them to remit or cease from these ceremonies until that much desired success should be achieved. He arranged for the barons of the exchequer and justiciaries of the law to hold their sessions again at Shrewsbury. He excused himself from all his obligations of sending aid to foreign potentates on account of his present undertaking, and caused special auxiliaries to be sent to him for military service in a mountain land, from Scotland, Gascony, and Biscay. Early in June he went from Worcester to Chester, and, while continuing on a vast scale his preparations for the final subjugation of the country, he encouraged the young noblemen of his court to whet their appetite for war in excursions against the Welsh. In one or other of these,[2] too eager for booty or for fame, Luke de Tany, Roger de Clifford the younger, William de Lindsey, William de Audeley, and many other men of note, fell into an ambuscade and perished, some by the sword, and others in crossing rivers which obstructed their flight. A similar disaster befel the king's troops in South Wales, and William de Valence the younger, Richard de Argenton, and others were slain on June 16.

[1] Rymer's Fœdera, ed. 1705, t. ii. pp. 189–192, 194, 196–201, 205, 206, 241.

[2] Florence of Worcester, Second Continuation; Chron. Tin. Leland, Antiq. Brit. Collect. ed. 1774, t. i. p. 178.

CHAP. XXII.

Nevertheless, the success of the king though slow was steadily progressive. Before the close of the month of June, Hope Castle surrendered to him, and, early in July, he raised the siege of Rhuddlan, and thence sent orders to the English Viscounts of Hereford, Salop, and Stafford, and the Custodian of the forest of Dean, to furnish him with practised woodmen provided with axes for the purpose of [1] felling a passage through the forest for his troops. At Rhuddlan he established his headquarters, and in August he welcomed there the military contingents of the barons, prelates, and abbots of all England. A.D. 1282

Llewelyn, David, and the chiefs of Gwynedd having carefully strengthened and guarded the mountain passes, now withdrew with their troops within those fortified precincts, and the king, finding access thither across the Conwy to be completely barred, sent round the fleet to attack Anglesey. From Rhuddlan, from Ruthin, and from Llangernyw, during the months of August, September, and October, he issued his orders, and perseveringly directed the difficult movements of his military and naval forces, until at length Anglesey [2] was subdued, and he exclaimed with exultation at the news, 'There goes the finest feather in Llewelyn's tail!'

The English having now gained a base for further operations against the mainland, used the utmost assiduity in erecting a floating bridge across the Menai Straits from the coast of the island to Moel y don near Bangor.

[1] Rymer's Fœdera, ed. 1705, t. ii. pp. 207, 208, 222–224; Pennant's Tours in North Wales, ed. 1810, vol. ii. p. 39; Leland, Antiq. Brit. Collect. ed. 1774, t. iii. p. 420, from Thomas Wike's Annals.

[2] Leland, Antiq. Brit. Collect. t. iii. p. 420; Rymer's Fœdera, ed. 1705, t. ii. pp. 220, 223, 224.

CHAP. XXII.

§ 5. The Archbishop of Canterbury being reluctant to place the Anglo-Norman bishops of Wales in jeopardy by excommunicating Llewelyn, still continued to defer that act, while endeavouring by friendly arguments to persuade the prince to submit himself to King Edward; and the king, well knowing the costliness, difficulty, and hazard of Welsh warfare, desired that every possible means might be tried of shortening the struggle and accelerating the attainment of his object. On November 3, 1282, the Archbishop in due state presented himself before the Prince of Wales, offering to his consideration a document[1] embodying seventeen articles, and adjuring him to agree speedily with the King of England on pain of that monarch's vengeance, and the high displeasure of the Pope. The Archbishop remained three days with the Prince of Wales, and the English nobles of the camp in Anglesey began to entertain fears that he was treacherously detained, and they consequently resolved to attack the Welsh entrenchments to rescue or avenge him. Accordingly, on November 6, seven bannerets and 300 men-at-arms made their way across the still unfinished bridge of boats, but having no guide, and being ignorant of the locality, they wandered wearily about, until the rising of the tide, and the swerving and drifting of the bridge from the shore had cut off their retreat; and then, down from the mountain rushed the watchful men of Gwynedd, and slaughtered all who did not perish by drowning. One man alone escaped, Lord William Latimer, whose powerful horse swam with him to the floating bridge.

The archbishop soon afterwards returned in safety to the English headquarters. His mission had proved fruit-

[1] Powel's Historie of Cambria, pp. 338-340; Warrington's History of Wales, Appendix.

less, and without more delay he pronounced against Llewelyn the sentence of excommunication.

Llewelyn's answer[1] to the articles which the archbishop had delivered to him contains a repetition of former complaints against oppressive injustice and rapacity, and a renewed profession of willingness to be reconciled if native laws and customs were insured to his people, and equitable decision awarded upon all cases of attested wrong. On the arrival of this answer, the archbishop[2] entreated the king to remedy those grievances, and the king replied by avowing his readiness to do justice to everyone that asked it of him. Encouraged by these words, the archbishop begged the king to allow the Welsh to come and plead their own cause before him, and to grant them a safe-conduct back again. The king assented to the first part of this proposal, but attached to the latter part a condition, making their free return depend upon a judicial decision as to their deserts. The archbishop, thus authorized, set forth a second time upon a mission of peace, and again personally attempted to persuade the Prince of Wales and his tributaries to submit themselves to the king. After much discussion, Llewelyn declared that he was ready to submit to the king's will, with the reservation of only two points, his conscientious sense of duty towards his people and his own dignity. Again the archbishop returned to King Edward, who sternly replied that he would accept nothing less than unqualified submission both from princes and people. The indefatigable primate then obtained the monarch's permission to consult with the noblemen present, and this

[1] Powel's Historie of Cambria, pp. 340–363; Warrington's History of Wales, Appendix.

[2] Powel's Historie of Cambria, pp. 364–372; Warrington's History of Wales, Appendix; Wynne's History of Wales, Appendix, pp. 363–398.

CHAP. XXII.

being done they agreed upon a series of articles, which they sent in writing to Llewelyn by Brother Iefan, a Cymric monk. It was stated in these articles that the four cantrefs and the isle of Anglesey, with the other lands lately conquered by the king and granted by him to Englishmen, should not be brought into question, and that the inhabitants of those four cantrefs should submit themselves unconditionally to the king, the nobles promising to use their influence with him to obtain for them merciful treatment. That Llewelyn should likewise submit unconditionally, on the assurance of similar intercession in his favour, so that he might hope for an English barony worth 1,000*l.* sterling for himself, and an honourable provision for his daughter; and, in the event of his marrying again and having a son, the nobles promised to try and secure the barony to him and his heirs for ever. They proposed to David, if he would consent to go to the Holy Land, and to remain there during the king's pleasure, that he should be provided with a suitable outfit and maintenance, and that they would entreat the king to provide also for his family.

Llewelyn told the archbishop in writing that he could not consent to those terms, but he entreated his intercession towards obtaining an honourable and settled peace, it being more for the king's honour that the Welsh princes should continue to hold their hereditary lands than that those lands should be given to aliens. He stated that the four cantrefs and Anglesey had belonged to Wales ever since the days of Camber, the son of Brutus, as the letters patent of Ottoboni the legate testified, and therefore he would consent to no peace in which they were not treated of: that the Welsh landowners altogether refused to submit, know-

ing that the king did not keep treaties, and that his agents persecuted the church; and they declared themselves to be the Prince of Wales's tenants, and willing that he should do service to the king, but not unconditionally. Llewelyn refused to accept a barony in England because Wales was his own, and had belonged to his ancestors since the time of Brutus; and the laws, language, and manners of England being all strange to him, a possession of that sort could only bring him into trouble; nor was it likely that the king, who envied him his mountain pastures, would give him in their stead cultivated lands. Besides all this, the prince declared that he had not power to give up Snowdonia to the king, for the people would not consent to do homage to a stranger, having already seen the manner in which the inhabitants of Y Perfeddwlad were treated. As to David, whenever he might go to the Holy Land, it would be of his own accord; and if he went, he deemed that his children ought rather on that account to have their inheritance secured to them than to be deprived of it. The document in which this answer was formally set forth complained afresh of the injuries inflicted by the English originators of the war, and concluded with a protest against the fulmination of ecclesiastical censures. It was dated from Garth Celyn.

The rejoinder of the archbishop bears the date of November 14. It recites his laborious attempts to serve the Welsh people, expatiates upon the king's good intentions towards them, and reproves the discreditable and fabulous boast of a genealogical descent from one who had abetted the evil doings of Helen's seducer, censures their own licentiousness (probably in reference to the marriage of priests), and declares that they being

CHAP. XXII.

guilty of treason against both the civil and canonical laws, their hereditary rights are extinct, and nothing remains for them but royal clemency. He casts back the imputations made against the king's character, fiercely recriminates upon the Welsh accusers, ascribes the laws of Howel Dda to 'the authority of the devil,' advises them to change those laws for English rule, and adds many other words of bitter and reproachful chiding, concluding with an expression of willingness to accept their repentance. This was the last attempt at conciliation. The Snowdonian fortresses still offered effectual resistance to King Edward, and no fresh effort appears to have been made to attack them from Anglesey.

A.D. 1282. § 6. In South Wales, Gilbert de Clare, earl of Gloucester and Hertford, continued to carry on a ruthless war against the Welsh, until a pitched battle, fought near Llandeilo Fawr, ended in a bloody victory obtained with great loss of life by the English, who nearly destroyed the native forces. Anxious to follow up this success, and to cut off all communication between the southern side of Snowdon, Powys, and South Wales, the king issued special orders to his military tenants in the latter, directing them to join his kinsman William de Valence, earl of Pembroke, on December 13, in making a vigorous attack upon the Welsh insurgents. On November 24, he issued special orders for another levy of troops for the Welsh war from all the English counties, and having taken these measures, he remained, constrained by the season and circumstances, inactive, though vigilant in north-eastern Gwynedd, while the Earl of Gloucester withdrew from Ceredigion to rest and recruit his forces.

The Prince of Wales thought this a favourable

opportunity for action, and early in December he confided the Snowdonian fortresses to his brother David, and led his army into Ceredigion, ravaging the English settlements there, and the lands of King Edward's partisan, Rhys ab Maredudd, in Ystrad Towy. On the 11th of the same month he was at Castell Aber Edwy, and thence he advanced to Llanfair yn [1]Buallt, leaving the main body of his troops in the Epynt mountains, placing a guard upon Pont Orewyn, and taking with him only one attendant he descended thence on horseback, but without armour, into the dell since called Cwm Llewelyn, having engaged by appointment to meet and to confer in that secluded spot with some chieftains of the neighbourhood, who had treacherously professed to him to be disaffected towards the king. While Llewelyn waited for them in vain, the bridge was attacked by Edmund de Mortimer and John Giffard at the head of their forces. The guard, being advantageously posted, repelled the attack, and the English under the guidance of Elias Walwyn, a knight, crossed the stream at a safe ford lower down and proceeded towards the other end of the bridge. The prince ordered his esquire to go and see if his men still held the bridge. The esquire looked out, and reported to the prince that the Cymric guard still held it, and the prince remarked that while they did so he did not fear all England on the farther side. The clang of arms increased, and the tramp of martial men drew nearer. The prince and his attendant left the dell, and perceiving that the English had crossed the river, overpowered the guard at Pont Orewyn, and directed their

[1] Leland, Antiq. Brit. Collect. t. i. p. 247; Annales Cambriæ, A.D. 1280, 1282; Brut y Tywysogion, A.D. 1279; Powel's Historie of Cambria, pp. 373, 374; Wynne's History of Wales, pp. 298, 299; Florence of Worcester, Second Continuation.

CHAP. XXII.

march towards the Cymric camp, Llewelyn urged his horse to full speed intending to rejoin his men and to lead them against the foe. One of Mortimer's knights named Adam de Francton caught sight of the fugitives, pursued and overtook them, then thrusting his lance through Llewelyn's body, rode off to his company while the prince fell dying to the ground. The Cymry awaiting his return, saw the troops of Mortimer and Giffard approach, and rushed to defend themselves, but they fought at a disadvantage and were defeated, many being slain and the rest dispersed. The victors were returning, when Adam de Francton rode aside to take the spoils of the Welshman whom he had slain before the battle. Llewelyn had not yet expired, and had asked a passing man-at-arms for [1]a priest. De Francton looking stedfastly upon the prostrate warrior recognized the Prince of Wales, and immediately cut off his head and carried it away to [2]Edmund de Mortimer, together with the regal signet and torques, and a list of names. De Mortimer sent the head to King Edward who was at Rhuddlan. King Edward received it with joyful exultation, and sent it to Anglesey that his army might see that the object of their campaign was accomplished. As soon as the soldiers had been glutted with the spectacle, the head was sent by the king's command to London. On December 22, the citizens came out in procession to meet it, crowned it with ivy, and amidst triumphant shouts, and the clang of trumpets and cornets, conducted its bearers throughout all the streets of the city to the pillory, where they set up the head and left it for the remainder of that day. On the

[1] Rymer's Fœdera, ed. 1705, t. ii. pp. 224, 225.

[2] Ibid.; Leland, Antiq. Brit. Collect. t. iii. p. 420, from the Annals of Thomas Wike.

morrow a horseman bore it upon the point of a lance along Cheapside, and in the evening carried it to the Tower, where it was fixed, still encircled by an ivy wreath, upon a tall pole, and set up over the gateway to rot and moulder, a ghastly spectacle, in derisive fulfilment of Merlin's prophecy, that when round money should be circulated in England, the sovereign of Wales should be crowned in London.

His body was buried near the spot where he died, at a place since known and revered as Cefn y Bêdd Llewelyn. Local tradition avers that the remains still rest there, but Rymer shows that Maude de Longspee, the wife of John Giffard, and a kinswoman of the prince, interceded earnestly with the Archbishop of Canterbury that the corpse might receive Christian burial, and chroniclers record that her request was at last complied with; and, notwithstanding the bann of excommunication under which Llewelyn died, his body, it is asserted, was removed and re-interred with religious rites in the Cistercian abbey of Cwmhîr; of which the ruins are still visible in the little valley of the small river Clywedog. This abbey was founded A.D. 1143, by Cadwallawn ab Madog, prince of Powys.

Many bards celebrated the warlike prowess and princely qualities of the sons of Gruffydd; and, on the death of Llewelyn, Dafydd Benfras, Bleddyn Fard, and Gruffydd ab yr Ynad Coch composed elegies. Dafydd Benfras enumerates twenty-one battles in which the hero was engaged, and Gruffydd ab yr Ynad Coch laments the loss of his prince in strains of peculiar pathos.

CHAPTER XXIII.

THE ANGLO-NORMANS AND THE CYMRY.

FROM THE DEATH OF LLEWELYN AB GRUFFYDD TO THE DEPOSITION OF KING EDWARD II., A.D. 1282-1327.

Though from your race the proud birthright be torn,
Unquenched is the spirit for monarchy born.

FELICIA HEMANS: *The Fair Isle.*

CHAP. XXIII.

A.D. 1282.

§ 1. KING EDWARD kept the following Christmas at Rhuddlan, and believing that the native ecclesiastics used their influence to promote the cause of the Welsh Princes, he caused so many of the priests to be hung that the Archbishop of Canterbury[1] ventured to rebuke him for such sacrilegious severity.

An assembly of Cymric chieftains, called together by Prince David on the news of Llewelyn's death, acknowledged him as his brother's successor and sovereign prince of Wales. The fortresses of Snowdon remained in his keeping, and winter rendered them for the present impregnable and unapproachable.

On March 7, 1283,[2] King Edward enacted the Statutes of Rhuddlan. The preamble states that the king had caused the laws and regulations up to that time in

[1] Rymer's Fœdera, ed. 1705, t. ii. p. 224.

[2] Ancient Laws and Institutes of Wales, edited by Aneurin Owen, and published by the Record Comm. 1 vol. folio, 1841; Literary Remains of the Rev. T. Price, vol. i. pp. 371-391.

CHAP. XXIII.

force in those parts to be read over before himself and his nobles, and that, having clearly understood their bearing, he had, by the advice of his council, annulled some, permitted some to stand, amended others, and decreed to add certain new ones to be perpetually observed throughout Wales, which Divine Providence had now delivered entirely into his hands. He entrusts the Snowdonian district and adjacent lands to the care of a justiciary having under him vicecomes (sheriffs), coroners, and bailiffs; defines the boundaries of the jurisdiction to be exercised by the sheriffs, thus constituting the counties of Anglesey, Caernarvon, Merioneth, Flint, Caermarthen, and Caerdigan, and leaving the cantrefs and cwmwds as marked out by their ancient meers, enters into particulars concerning the duties of the several officers now appointed, and prescribes certain forms of legal proceedings, thus declaring and dating the general subjugation of the country.

About the same time he fixed the exchequer of Wales and the officers of the treasury at Chester.

About March 25, 1283, King Edward advanced his headquarters to the Cistercian abbey of Aber Conwy; there he spent the season of Easter, and planned the majestic castle[1] which he afterwards began to build upon the site of the ecclesiastical edifice; and there he projected several other magnificent specimens of military architecture, in well chosen places, for completing and sustaining the forcible occupation of the country.

§ 2. The return of spring exhilarated the spirits of the English noblemen, and they repeatedly led the mercenary mountaineers of Gascony, Biscay, and Scot- A.D. 1283.

[1] Leland, Antiq. Brit. Collectanea, t. i. pp. 178–179, t. iii. ed. 1774, p. 346; Rymer's Fœdera, ed. 1705, t. ii. pp. 427, 428.

CHAP. XXIII.

land against the last strongholds of Cymric independence.

Prince David was not deficient either in courage or ability. He looked well to the munitions of the castles, strengthened their garrisons, and guarded the shepherds' *rhiws* with ceaseless vigilance. Dolbadern, one of the oldest walled fortresses in Cymrû, had hitherto been deemed capable of stopping the advance of any army; but the men of Gwynedd, dispirited by the loss of their beloved Llewelyn, disappointed in their expectations of national glory, and despairing of their country's cause, surrendered that castle in April to the Earl of Pembroke's blockade, and about the same time allowed William de Beauchamp, earl of Warwick, to force his way among the defiles of Snowdon.

[1]Prince David retreated before the victors, and soon became a fugitive in the forest with his wife, seven daughters, two sons, and a few attendants, leading there a life of seclusion, privation, and anxiety for about two months, and being at last betrayed by Eineon ab Ifor, Dafydd ab Goronwy, and others in whom he trusted, he was captured, fettered, and taken together with his family to Rhuddlan, and, about June 24, delivered up to King Edward. The princess and the children,[2] the gilded relic of the true cross, the crown of King Arthur, and the other regalia of Wales, were at the same time presented to that monarch, the glory of Wales being then, by the providence of Almighty God, transferred to the safe-keeping of English hands.

Among the treasures which derived their value from

[1] Florence of Worcester, Second Continuation, A.D. 1283; Annales Cambriæ, A.D. 1283; Rymer's Fœdera, ed. 1705, t. ii. pp. 247–249.

[2] Archæologia Cambrensis, January, 1846, pp. 42, 43; Leland, Antiq. Brit. Collectanea, ed. 1774, t. iii. pp. 346, 404.

superstition was the reputed body of Constantius, father of Constantine the Great, and King Edward received it joyfully at Caernarvon, where it lay interred or enshrined.

On the last day of September 1283, King Edward assembled a parliament at Shrewsbury for the trial of Prince David. By this high court David was convicted of high treason, and condemned to die a traitor's death. The sentence was executed without mitigation: he was hung, drawn, beheaded, and quartered in that town; his dismembered frame was distributed for exhibition in four English cities, and his head, being taken to London, was placed over the lofty gateway of the Tower, beside the skeleton of his brother's. Mabadin, Prince David's steward, was also convicted of treason, and likewise torn asunder by horses; a punishment not unusual in England during the thirteenth century.

The capture of David led to the voluntary surrender of many chiefs of the insurrection, and Gruffydd and Cynan, sons of Maredudd, Rhys Fychan ab Rhys ab Maelgwn, Gruffydd and Llewelyn, sons of Rhys Fychan, and some other men of note, were sent to London and imprisoned in the Tower.

There were, however, many more who stood aloof, and being eventually outlawed and dispossessed of their lands, they sought refuge in France, and honourably distinguished themselves in the military service of that country.

§ 3. For the second time, the vigilant and sagacious King Edward found it necessary to spend the Christmas season at Rhuddlan.

His son Edward was born at Caernarvon on April 25, 1284. It was stated by[1] Dr. Powel, and has been sub-

[1] Powel's Historie of Cambria, ed. 1584, p. 377.

CHAP. XXIII.

sequently repeated by Stowe, that the king, being then at Rhuddlan, and having assembled there all the principal men of the country, announced to them that, as they had often asked him to appoint a prince to reign over them, he was now willing to comply with their request on condition of their acceptance and obedience. The chieftains answering that if the prince were of their own nation, they would certainly accept and obey him, and the king assuring them that he would name one born in Wales, and unable to speak a word of English, whose life and conversation no man could impugn, the chieftains are said to have repeated the promise of obedience and the king to have named his new-born son.

In the spring of that year, the king[1] made a stately progress throughout the Principality, John Peckham, archbishop of Canterbury, entering at the same time upon a visitation of the Welsh dioceses, for the purpose of arranging the ecclesiastical affairs of the country. Considerable sums of money were consequently paid by the king to various religious establishments in Wales, as compensation for the damage and spoliation which they had suffered during the war. On August 1, King Edward displayed his hospitality, and celebrated a round-table[2] festival at Nefyn, when a tournament of his nobles formed the chief entertainment. The allusion to King Arthur shows that conciliation was the object proposed, while the exhibition of power was also calculated to repress the ambition of the conquered people. Circular earthworks, still remaining, reveal the site of this chivalric display. By the death of Prince[3] Alphonso at Windsor, on the nineteenth of the

[1] Annales Cambriæ, A.D. 1284; Rymer's Fœdera, ed. 1705, t. ii. pp. 272, 273, 275-279, 287, 291, 292, 316, 317.

[2] Pennant's Tours in North Wales, ed. 1810, vol. ii. p. 389.

[3] Florence of Worcester, Second Continuation.

same month, Edward of Caernarvon became heir apparent of the British throne.

In the middle of September the king was at Chester, early in October he was at Hope Castle, and towards the close of that month at Caernarvon. On Sunday, November 26, in the same year, the king and queen appeared as pilgrims at St. David's shrine; then, looking diligently to the military and civil affairs of South Wales, he passed on to Bristol, and there kept the festival of Christmas and held a parliament. In the beginning of January, 1285, he returned to London, after an absence of three years.

In the spring of the year 1285, King Edward made a solemn procession from the Tower of London to Westminster Abbey, with the head of St. David and the other relics which he had brought with him out of Wales. These were laid upon the high altar, to which young Alphonso,[1] by his father's command, had borne in the previous year the personal spoils of Llewelyn ab Gruffydd. It is believed that the jewels were afterwards worked up into King Edward the Confessor's shrine; what became of the other regalia of Cymrû is unknown.

§ 4. Rhys ab Maredudd, [2]lord of Ystrad Towy, had done good service to King Edward in the war against Llewelyn, prince of Wales, and several confiscated estates in his neighbourhood had been assigned to him as a reward. His manner of taking possession of these estates, as a right and not as a grant, was reported to

[1] Leland, Antiq. Brit. Collect. t. iii. p. 393.

[2] Rymer's Fœdera, ed. 1705, t. ii. pp. 258–260, 343–346, 353–355, 482; Florence of Worcester, Second Continuation; Annales Cambriæ, A.D. 1283, 1287; Powel's Historie of Cambria, pp. 378, 379; Archæologia Cambrensis, October 1854, pp. 295–298; Brut y Tywysogion, A.D. 1277 Leland, Antiq. Brit. Collect. t. i. p. 179, t. iii. p. 346.

CHAP. XXIII.

the king, who rebuked him with sternness. This aroused the anger of Rhys, and the way in which he was summoned by the district officers to attend the legal courts provoked him still more, and directed the current of his indignation against Robert de Tybetot, the justiciary of Caermarthen. King Edward was on the Continent, but he wrôte to Rhys in May 1287, promising redress for the wrongs of which he had complained, and charging him not to break the peace. Unhappily this injunction arrived too late, for the impetuous Cymro was already in arms, and engaged in a series of skirmishes against Robert de Tybetot, who acted as warden of the king's castles, and against Alan Plunket, the king's steward. Early in June, Rhys mustered his forces and seized upon the castles of Llandovery, Dinefawr, and Carreg Cennin; and, in the course of that month, he pillaged and burnt the towns of Swansea, Oystermouth, Caermarthen, and Llanbadarn Fawr.

Edmund, earl of Cornwall, called together the royal forces at Gloucester in July, and marched at their head against Rhys and the Welsh insurgents. On August 1 the English army laid siege to Rhys' castle of Droslyn, and at length overthrew it by means of a mine, which was so unskilfully managed that several English noblemen and their attendants were crushed to death by the falling walls. The earl took the castle of Emlyn on the Teify, and recovered the royal fortresses which Rhys had taken. The contest was severe, but after great slaughter on both sides, and a vast destruction of property, Rhys withdrew before superior force, his principal coadjutors laid down their arms towards the close of September, and peace appeared to be restored. Nevertheless, Rhys did but watch for a favourable

opportunity of renewing the insurrection, and on November 2 he retook the castle at [1]Emlyn, capturing Roger de Mortimer within it, and he continued to carry on a successful warfare throughout the following winter. CHAP. XXIII.

At the end of March, 1288, the Welsh garrison of Emlyn Castle, after a sanguinary conflict, surrendered to Robert de Tybetot. Rhys was proclaimed a traitor and an outlaw, and fled to Ireland, where the Earl of Gloucester afforded him a refuge; but he continued to be remembered and beloved in South Wales, and when he returned thither, after an absence of more than three years, the people hailed him as their prince and expected deliverer, and readily followed his standard to attack and ravage the lands of the king's adherents. On April 2 he was encountered by the forces of Robert de Tybetot, 4,000 of his men were slain, and he was himself taken prisoner. The justiciary[2] sent him to the king who was then at York, and there Rhys was tried, condemned, and executed for high treason. He was the last but one of the many eminent representatives of the royal line of Dinefawr. A.D. 1292.

§ 5. The king had commanded Reginald de Grey, justiciary of Chester, and Robert de Staunton, justiciary of North Wales,[3] to lay a tax upon Gwynedd towards defraying the charge of his wars in Gascony, and he sent Roger de Pulesdon down to collect the proceeds. Against this imposition a formidable opposition was raised, which soon took the form of a provincial insurrection, headed by Madog ab [4]Maredudd, a kinsman A.D. 1294.

[1] 'Castrum novum super Teyui.'

[2] Florence of Worcester, Second Continuation; Leland, Antiq. Brit. Collect. ed. 1774, t. iii. p. 393.

[3] Rymer's Fœdera, ed. 1705, t. ii. p. 654.

[4] Florence of Worcester, Second Continuation; Powel's Historie of

CHAP. XXIII.

of Llewelyn's race. The insurgents hung several of the king's tax-gatherers, and after having hung Roger de Pulesdon, they beheaded his corpse. In the commotion which ensued, the town of Caernarvon was destroyed by fire, and the authorities of the province were completely overpowered. At the same time exactions of the same kind occasioned great disturbances in South-western Wales. The insurgents placed young [1]Maelgwn Fychan at their head, and carried fire and sword through Penbroch, Caerfyrddin, and Ceredigion; while Morgan, a chieftain of Morganwg, put himself at the head of the oppressed Cymry in that district, drove out the Earl of Gloucester, and regained possession of the territory of which that nobleman's predecessors had formerly deprived his ancestors.

The king had an army ready to go into Gascony, under the command of his brother Edmund, earl of Lancaster, and Henry de Lacy, earl of Lincoln, and he at once gave orders for it to march into North Wales.

The army of the insurgents was led by Madog to encounter the English, and, on November 11, a battle took place near Denbigh, in which King Edward's forces suffered great loss and were completely defeated. King Edward soon afterwards raised another army, and marched with it into Gwynedd, and Madog retreated to the mountains. The tides were unusually high at that time, and the King with great difficulty succeeded in getting a part of his troops across the Conwy. Madog immediately took advantage of this opportunity, invested the king in the new castle, cut off his convoys,

Cambria, pp. 379–381; Pennant's Tours in North Wales, ed. 1810, vol. iii. pp. 288, 289; Chron. Tin. Leland, Antiq. Brit. Collect, ed. 1774, t. i. p. 179.

[1] Archæologia Cambrensis, October, 1854, pp. 298–300; Chron. Tin. Leland, Antiq. Brit. Collect. ed. 1774, t. i. p. 179.

reduced him to extreme scarcity and distress, and slew or otherwise caused the death of 1,000 of his followers. In the course of these operations, however, the Cymric chief lost many men, and when the floods abated and the English crossed the river, the insurgents fled before them. Three of Madog's principal coadjutors, among them being Morgan Fychan, fell into King Edward's hands, were sent to Hereford, and there executed as traitors. The Earl of Warwick again distinguished himself by penetrating into the recesses of Snowdon, and routing the native forces; and the malcontents in Anglesey being also crushed down, the king began, early in December, to build the castle of Beaumarais, and he celebrated the festival of Christmas at Conwy without molestation.

Early in the year 1295, Madog reappeared at the head of an army, attacked and won the town of Oswestry, twice defeated in ranged battle the forces of the Lords Marchers, and ravaged their lands for many months; but he was at last defeated in a conflict at Cefn Digoll, near Cawr's Castle, and early in the month of August fell into the hands of his enemies, and was sent as a prisoner of state to the Tower of London.

The insurrection in Morganwg was subdued about the same time, and its leader Morgan was taken to London and there beheaded. One of the finest of the Welsh[1] martial airs was probably composed or selected by the harpers of this prince to animate the march of his followers.

§ 6. King Edward, in the twenty-ninth year of his reign (November 20, 1300, to November 20, 1301), conferred upon his son Edward of Caernarvon, the principality of Wales and the earldom of Chester; and, within

[1] Rhyfelgyrch Cadpen Morgan.

CHAP. XXIII.

the same year, the young prince came to Chester, and received[1] the homage of the Welsh freeholders, and of the English noblemen who possessed freeholds in Wales; among the latter being Henry of Lancaster, the king's nephew, who did homage and fealty for Monmouth.

The power of the Welsh people was now effectually broken, and no concentrated effort could be made to retrieve their independence; but general discontent prevailed, and many chieftains exhibited so much readiness in leading their armed retainers upon marauding expeditions, and in joining their warlike bands to the militia of rebellious English barons, that the king found incessant vigilance necessary to prevent combination and provincial insurrection. Imitating, therefore, the old Roman policy, he systematically employed [2]Welsh auxiliaries in his Scottish and Continental wars, thus giving scope to the martial spirit of the people, and removing the most fiery and untamed of their youth from the country.

This great king[3] died July 7, 1307, and Edward of Caernarvon succeeded to his crown.

§ 7. Gilbert de Clare, tenth earl of Gloucester, fell at the battle[4] of Stirling in the year 1313, and his three sisters being his heirs, Edward II. took possession of their estates, and sent an English agent down to manage the Welsh property. Native officers had been employed under the earls to overlook the Welsh tenants, and the imprudent and impolitic agent soon

[1] Powel's Historie of Cambria, ed. 1584, pp. 382, 383; Leland, Antiq. Brit. Collect. ed. 1774, t. iii. p. 377; Rymer's Fœdera, ed. 1705, t. ii. pp. 954, 986, 987, 990, 1041, 1043.

[2] Pennant's Tours in North Wales, ed. 1810, vol. ii. p. 125.

[3] Nicolas, Chronology of History; Rymer's Fœdera, ed. 1705, t. ii. p. 1059.

[4] Gibson's Camden, ed. 1772, vol. i. p. 289.

provoked the indignation of those tenants by dismissing those officers, of whom Llewelyn[1] surnamed Bren was the chief. Llewelyn hastened to appeal from a petty tyrant to his sovereign, and personally stated his own and his neighbours' grievances to King Edward. The thoughtless monarch refused to grant redress, and did not attempt conciliation. Llewelyn's indignation soon burst forth in threats of vengeance, and returning to his home in Morganwg, he summoned his friends and retainers to appear in arms, captured the constable of Caerphilly Castle, and made a hostile inroad upon the lands held by the obnoxious agent. His forces rapidly increased until they numbered 10,000 men, who, placing their families and their flocks and herds in strongholds among the mountains, led a sort of brigand life and carried devastation throughout the English colonies of Morganwg. Military levies were repeatedly opposed to them by the Marchers, and in several fierce encounters Llewelyn Bren was worsted. Perceiving at length that the power sent against him by the king must ultimately crush him, he offered to make restitution for the injuries he had inflicted, and to surrender upon terms calculated to secure his own welfare and that of his followers. The king would grant no terms, and insisted upon unconditional submission; nevertheless, Llewelyn seems to have received some private intimations of merciful treatment, for he gave himself up together with eighteen of his adherents in the month of July, and was with them sent to London and committed to the Tower. In June, 1317,[2] he was liberated

[1] Cambrian Journal, September, 1857, pp. 202-204; Ibid. December, 1857, pp. 312, 313; Rymer's Fœdera, ed. 1706, t. iii. pp. 546-548, 551, 578, 579, 617, 622, 637-639, 671.

[2] Rymer's Fœdera, ed. 1706, t. iii. pp. 649, 671.

CHAP. XXIII.

together with his sons Gruffydd and Iefan, and evidence exists that he and his other fellow prisoners were at large, and re-instated in their lands before the expiration of two years from the date of their incarceration.

Eleanor, the eldest co-heiress of De Clare, was bestowed in marriage by the king her uncle upon Hugh le Despencer the younger, who in her right became possessed of the castle and lands of Caerphilly. This baron and his father, in the mischievous exercise of unbridled licence, not long afterwards assumed regal functions,[1] captured Llewelyn Bren, carried him off to Caerdiff, and caused him there to suffer death as a traitor.

All these examples of unsuccessful insurrection, the horrible punishments openly inflicted upon many of the rebel chiefs, and the mysterious uncertainty which veiled the fate of others, proved insufficient to deter the impulsive Cymry from again attempting to realize that national expectation, which, although often misdirected and disappointed, seldom fails in the long run of ages to find a remarkable fulfilment.

In the years 1309 and 1319, levies of troops were made[2] throughout Wales to aid the king in his war against the Scots. Sir Gruffydd Llwyd[3] had been knighted by Edward I. for bringing him the news of Prince Edward's birth, but the sufferings and tumults of the men of Gwynedd, under the tyrannous rule of the royal justiciary, aroused the excitable knight to attempt their deliverance by the re-establishment of a

[1] Woodward's History of Wales, part ii. p. 563.

[2] Rymer's Fœdera, ed. 1706, t. iii. pp. 156–158, 774, 775.

[3] Powel's Historie of Cambria, p. 383; Wynne's History of Wales, pp. 310–313; Pennant's Tours in North Wales, ed. 1810, vol. iii. pp. 52, 53.

native dynasty. He soon assembled an army, and in the first unexpected and furious onset obtained some advantages, took the castles of Mold and Chirk, formed intrenched camps at Tregarnedd and at Ynys Cefni in the morass of Maltraeth in Anglesey, but being finally vanquished in battle, Sir Gruffydd was taken prisoner and committed to Rhuddlan Castle, where he languished out the remainder of his days in captivity.

CHAP. XXIII.

A.D. 1316-1322.

January 20, 1327,[1] King Edward II. was deposed and Edward III., his eldest son, succeeded to the throne.

[1] Nicolas, Chronology of History, ed. 1833, pp. 296-298.

CHAPTER XXIV.

THE PLANTAGENET PRINCES AND THE CYMRY

FROM THE ACCESSION OF EDWARD III. TO THE DEATH OF HENRY
A.D. 1327–1422.

A noble people, who being greatly vexed
In act, in aspiration keep undaunted.

E. B. BROWNING.

CHAP. XXIV.

§ 1. KING EDWARD III.,[1] by a charter dated Pomfret, March 18, in the seventh year of his reign (January 25, 1333, to January 24, 1334), gave the earldom of Chester to Edward the Black Prince, together with the castles of Chester, Beston, Rothlan, and Flint, and all the king's lands there; and also the cantred and lands of Englefield, the castle of Hope, the manors of Hopedale and Fordsham, and the advowson of the cathedral church of St. Asaph, and the temporalities of the bishoprics of Chester and St. Asaph.

King Edward III.,[2] in a parliament held at Westminster in the fifteenth year of his reign (A.D. January 25, 1341, to January 24, 1342), created Edward earl of Chester, his eldest son, Prince of Wales, and invested him by putting a wreath around his head, a gold ring upon his finger, and a silver rod into his hand. He

[1] Dodridge's Historical Account of the Ancient and Modern State of the Principality of Wales, Dutchy of Cornwal, and Earldom of Chester, 2nd ed. 1714.

[2] Ibid.

also bestowed upon him the Principality and all the manors, lordships, castles and lands owned therein by the king, including the confiscated lands and other property taken by Edward I. from Rhys ab Maredudd, and all voidances of ecclesiastical offices, customs, prisages, &c., 'to have and to hold the same unto the said prince and his heirs, kings of England.' From these words, Dodridge infers that the right to the Principality merged in the crown when each succeeding prince of Wales became king, and that a new creation was necessary to every heir-apparent. Deducting[1] the fees of the justices, the nett amount of the revenues of Wales at the death of the Black Prince was 4,681*l.* 12*s.* 5*d.*, exclusive of that part of Wales contained within the earldom of Chester.

No particulars are given by Dodridge of Richard of Bourdeaux's creation, but the date assigned to it by[2] Nicolas is January 26, 1377, and on the 26th King Edward III. authorized him by that title to act as his deputy in opening the next parliament. On June 22, in the same year,[3] Richard succeeded his deceased grandfather, Edward III., as king of England. In the[4] twenty-first year of the reign of Richard II. the earldom of Chester was by act of parliament united to the Principality of Wales, and it has ever since been held by the heir-apparent to the throne.

§ 2. Many of the royal race of Rhodri Mawr and many of the district sovereigns of Wales, with their families,

[1] Record of a Survey taken in the 50th year of King Edward III. quoted by Dodridge.

[2] Synopsis of the Peerage, ed. 1825, vol. i. p. 6; Rymer's Fœdera, ed. 1709, t. vii. p. 134.

[3] Rymer's Fœdera, ed. 1709, t. vii. p. 151.

[4] Synopsis, vol. i. p. 125; Chron. Tin. Leland, Antiq. Brit. Collect. ed. 1774, t. i. p. 187.

CHAP. XXIV.

continued during the fourteenth century to seek refuge in France. Among them, or their descendants, was Iefan de Galles, who asserted his right as male heir to the throne of Gwynedd and the suzerainty of Wales.[1] Thierry conjectures him to have been a great-nephew of Llewelyn ab Gruffydd, which is not unlikely, as that prince had three or four brothers. Iefan was retained in the palace of Philip VI. and educated among the pages of his chamber. He was greatly beloved by King John, and fought by his side at the battle of Poictiers, A.D. 1356. Charles V., surnamed the Wise, entrusted Iefan with several military commands, one of them being a descent upon the island of Guernsey. Iefan's special company consisted of 100 men-at-arms, all of them Welsh; and at their head he fought with distinction against the English in Limousin, Périgord, and Saintonge; and following Duguesclin into Spain, he took part in the wars of Castile. He appears to have cherished sanguine, though vain, hopes of restoration to the throne of his fathers, and in the year 1388, near the town of Mortagne, in Saintonge, died by assassination, being stabbed with a dagger by a treacherous fellow-countryman, who afterwards found refuge from justice with his English employers in Guienne. The pages of Froissart embalm his memory.

It may be inferred[2] that Llewelyn ab Gruffydd and his wife Eleanor de Montfort had two daughters, the eldest, Gwenddolen, otherwise called Catherine, who in after days married Philip ab Ifor, lord of Iscoed, and is reckoned by some of the Welsh and English[3] heralds

[1] Thierry's Norman Conquest, conclusion, section 2, quoting Froissart, I. 253, pp. 305, 351, 420.

[2] Pennant's Tours in Wales, ed. 1810, vol. iii. Appendix vii. p. 310.

[3] Wynne's History of Wales, ed. 1697, Appendix, pp. 331–334; Lane's Vendigaid, vol. ii. Pedigree appended by Blue Mantle.

an ancestress of King Henry VII.; the youngest,[1] at whose birth her mother died, Gwenllian, who being taken prisoner together with her nurse, soon after her father's death, was sent by King Edward to the convent of Sempringham, unwillingly became a nun there, and died there at Whitsuntide in the year 1337, after a residence of fifty-four years, beloved and mourned as a gentle and courteous lady. Her cousin, Gwladys, a daughter of Prince David, was placed at the same time with Gwenllian in the same convent, and died there in the previous year.

§ 3. Owen,[2] surnamed Glyndwrdu, was born about the year 1348, and May 28 is said to have been his birthday. His father was Gruffydd, lord of Glyndwfrdwy, in Merionydd, and of Cynllaith, in y Perfeddwlad, third son of Gruffydd, native sovereign of Powys Isaf and lord of Dinas Bran. His mother, the wife of Gruffydd Fychan, was Helen, daughter of Eleanor Goch and grand-daughter of Catherine ferch Llewelyn, the last Cymric prince of Wales. Hence it appears that the only hereditary claim which Owen could assert to the throne of Cymrû Oll was maternally derived, for the royal blood of Powys and the estate of Glyndwfrdwy were his only patrimonial inheritance. He appears to have been educated at one of the English universities. He subsequently entered himself at the Inns of Court in London, studied there, and became a barrister; but,

[1] Annales Cambriæ, ed. 1860, p. 107; Brut y Tywysogion, ed. 1860, p. 305; Woodward's History of Wales, part ii. pp. 487, 488; Rymer's Fœdera, ed. 1705, t. ii. p. 429.

[2] Pennant's Tours in Wales, ed. 1810, vol. iii. appendix vii. pp. 310–392; Williams, Enwogion Cymru, pp. 169–173; Knight's English Cyclopædia, Biography, vol. iii. pp. 110–123; Woodward's History of Wales, pp. 565–574; Powel's Historie of Cambria, pp. 386–388; Wynne's History of Wales, pp. 315–322; Gibson's Camden's Britannia, ed. 1772, vol. ii. pp. 4, 5.

CHAP. XXIV.

some unrecorded incident having changed the direction of his career, he accepted the appointment of scutiger—esquire of the body—to King Richard II., and attached himself with faithful and unswerving affection to the service of that unhappy monarch. Owen was captured with Richard in Flint Castle, and when the king was consigned to a solitary prison, the loyal knight retired to his native home. His wife was a daughter of Sir David Hanmer, of Hanmer, Flintshire, and they had a numerous family of children.

Iolo Goch, an eminent and independent bard, who attached himself to the fortunes of Owen, describes that chieftain's principal abode, Sycarth, in the parish of Llansilin, as comparable in splendour to the palace at Westminster, having a gate-house, being surrounded with a moat, and comprising within its precincts nine halls, each furnished with its own wardrobe. On a verdant bank near this stately home Iolo Goch informs us that there stood a wooden edifice, supported on posts and covered with tiles, which contained four apartments, each of two chambers, prepared for the reception of guests.

A cruciform church, including several chapels, stood also within the moat. Around lay a park, and near at hand were a warren, a dovecote, a mill, an orchard, a vineyard, a pond full of pike and of Bala gwyniads, a heronry, and every other luxurious appendage befitting the owner's exalted rank. Hospitality and honesty were alike attested by the fact that no locks or bolts protected these domestic treasures; and the beneficent wife and beautiful children of Owen added at once to his happiness and to the prosperity of the neighbourhood.

On Monday, September 29, 1399,[1] King Richard II. resigned his crown, and on the following day his cousin, Henry Plantagenet, surnamed Bolingbroke, became king of England. He soon afterwards, and[2] before the close of that year, created Henry of Monmouth, his eldest son, prince of Wales and earl of Chester by charter, and invested him with the wreath, gold ring, and a golden rod.

§ 4. The happiness of Owen Glyndwrdu was much disturbed by the political troubles of the period, and he was also harassed by contention with his neighbour, Reginald, lord Grey de Ruthyn, who claimed a piece of land called Croesau, which Owen considered as his own. A suit at law decided the question in his favour, but he did not long enjoy its undisturbed possession, for Reginald was a partisan of Bolingbroke, and emboldened by his accession to the throne as King Henry IV., took forcible possession of the Croesau in the year 1399. Owen laid the case before parliament, but he could obtain no redress, and his suit was dismissed.

A writ summoning Owen as a feudal baron of the British crown to attend King Henry in his expedition against Scotland was entrusted for delivery to his avowed enemy, Reginald de Grey, who purposely delayed it until the time for obedience had passed. Nevertheless, Reginald de Grey and other political adversaries of Owen contrived so to misrepresent the facts of the case, as to deduce the inference that the Welsh chieftain was guilty of high treason. The subject was debated in parliament, and John Trevor, bishop of St. Asaph, not

[1] Nicolas, Chronology of History, ed. 1833, p. 302; Rymer's Fœdera, ed. 1709, t. viii. pp. 90, 91.

[2] Dodridge's Historical Account; Nicolas, Synopsis, vol. i. p. 6; Rymer's Fœdera, ed. 1709, t. viii. pp. 94–148.

CHAP. XXIV.

only exonerated him from blame, but warmly remonstrated against the impolicy of provoking a man of his character and of his influence with the Welsh people. The majority of the English nobles answered the eloquent prelate with the contemptuous assertion, 'that they were not afraid of those barefooted scrubs;' and Reginald de Grey was consequently authorized to seize upon Owen's whole estate under the pretext of forfeiture for high treason.

The indignant Cymro did not quietly await the execution of this decree, and the sting of personal injury augmenting his corroding recollection of King Richard's griefs and of Cymru's wrongs, he vehemently resolved to avenge himself and his friend's death, and to deliver his country from cruel oppression by asserting in arms his right to reign over the Principality.

The numerous bards who partook of his hospitality hailed with joy the declaration of his purpose, and busied themselves in setting forth among the people the ancient prophecies of national deliverance from the Saxon yoke, expatiating upon the heroic qualities of their Owen, and encouraging them to arise and follow him to war and victory.

The household bard of Glyndwfrdwy, Gruffydd Llwyd, composed a cywydd upon this occasion, which is alike remarkable for poetic merit and for the confident assurance of success which breathes through every line. The people, ready for revolt, responded to the call, and many Welsh chiefs brought out their martial levies.

In the summer of the year 1400 Owen first took the field with his troops, attacking the retainers of Lord Grey de Ruthyn and forcibly recovering the lands of which he had been dispossessed by that crafty baron.

He then proceeded through North Wales and its marches,[1] taking forcible possession of many castles and strongholds.

Leaving for a little while his martial levies, Owen revisited his home at Glyndwfrdwy, and was there surprised by the Lords Grey de Ruthyn and Talbot, who with their retainers surrounded the house at night, in the hope of capturing him; but, eluding their vigilance, he hastily escaped to the woods, and thence returned to his army, while his enemies pillaged his demesne.

On September 20, 1400, Owen attacked and pillaged the town of Ruthyn, by way of reprisal for Reginald de Grey's depredations at Glyndwfrdwy. An English army entered Wales soon afterwards by way of Chester, but Owen retreated into the wilds of Snowdon, and the English were soon compelled by stress of weather to withdraw.

On November 8 King Henry made[2] a grant, comprising all Owen's possessions in Wales, to John de Beaufort, earl of Somerset, on the plea of forfeiture by treason; and, on the 30th of the same month and year, he proclaimed a free pardon to all Welshmen who chose to appear at Chester previous to the next session of parliament.

§ 5. The parliament which met in January 1401 passed a series of the most oppressive and cruel ordinances ever enacted against any people; prohibiting the Welsh from purchasing lands, from holding any corporate office, and from bearing arms within any city, borough, or market town; ordering that in lawsuits between an Englishman and a Welshman the former should be convicted only by the judgment of English

[1] Rymer's Fœdera, ed. 1709, t. viii. pp. 159, 160.
[2] Ibid. pp. 163, 167.

CHAP. XXIV.

justices or the verdict of all the English burgesses, or by inquests of English boroughs and towns of the lordships in which the respective suits lay; disfranchising all English burgesses who were married to Welshwomen; and forbidding Welshmen to assemble together for conference without licence from the local authorities and in their presence. No provisions or arms were to be received into Wales without special permission from the king or his council. No Welshman was allowed to have the charge of any castle, fortress, or place of defence, even though he might be its owner, nor to execute the offices of lieutenant, justice, chancellor, treasurer, chamberlain, sheriff, steward, coroner, or any other office of trust, notwithstanding any patent or licence to the contrary. These tyrannous statutes likewise forbade Welshmen to bring up their children as scholars, or to apprentice them to any occupation within any town or borough of the realm.

The withdrawal of Welsh students from the English universities and grammar schools, and their simultaneous return to their own country, together with crowds of Welsh craftsmen, labourers, and military retainers, were immediate results of these laws; and the aggrieved and indignant people, augmented by these wayfarers, arose once more with its ancient zeal to reassert the claims of personal liberty and national independence.

On the petition of Henry, prince of Wales,[1] King Henry proclaimed on March 10, 1401, pardon and protection to all submissive Welshmen within the counties of Caernarvon, Anglesey, Merioneth, Denbigh, and Flint. On May 6 the same proclamation was extended to Chirk and Chirkland; on the 10th to Bromfield,

[1] Rymer's Fœdera, ed. 1709, t. viii. pp. 181, 182.

Yale, and the hundred of Oswestry; on the 16th to the hundred of Ellesmere in 'Walliâ,' and on June 25 to the hundred of Whytington 'in Wallia.' From these offers of pardon and protection Owen Glyndwrdu, Rhys ab Tewdwr, and Gwilym ab Tewdwr were excluded by name; and generally all those offenders who were already in custody and those who persisted in rebellion. Each of these offers was issued from Westminster.

On March 18 the king issued a series of repressive[1] ordinances, supplementing the cruel acts of the late parliament, and on the 22nd, with the consent of his council, the great seal was affixed to them. One of the clauses prohibits the 'Ministrelx, Bardes, Rymours, & Westours, & autres Vagabundez Galeys deinz North-gales' on pain of imprisonment for a year.

From March 10 (A.D. 1401) to July 8, the eldest son of the potent Earl of Northumberland, Henry Percy, surnamed Hotspur, being then justiciary of Chester and Gwynedd, diligently carried on the siege of Conway Castle, which was held by Gwilym ab Tewdwr for Owen Glyndwrdu.

The military operations of Hotspur, in the siege and in the field, were alike unsuccessful, and his letters impatiently complain of the stubborn obstinacy of the Welsh insurgents; nevertheless, he prevailed upon Gwilym ab Tewdwr to deliver up Conway Castle, and he obtained for that chieftain, and for thirty-one other Welshmen,[2] the king's pardon and favour.

A.D. 1401.

Owen at this time took up a strong position on Plynlimmon, there welcoming recruits, and thence sending forth predatory expeditions against the English settlers, and against such Welsh chieftains as refused to aid his cause. The county of Montgomery suffered

[1] Rymer's Fœdera, ed. 1709, t. viii. pp. 184, 185. [2] Ibid. p. 209.

CHAP. XXIV.

much from these expeditions, for Owen sacked Montgomery, burned the suburbs of Welshpool, and ravaged many estates. He also destroyed the abbey of Cwmhîr in Maeleinydd, took the castle of Radnor, and caused the garrison of sixty men to be beheaded on the brink of the castle yard.

Extending his hostile march, Owen with 500 men harassed and pillaged the Flemish settlements in Cardiganshire and Pembrokeshire, but on his return laden with spoils, the Flemings mustered 1,500 men, pursued, surrounded, and attacked him at Mynydd Hyddgant, and would have destroyed him, had he not at the head of his men made a vigorous defence, and finally cut his way through the assailants, leaving 200 of them dead upon the spot.

In the autumn of this year, King Henry appears to have entered Wales [1] with an army, and lingered there for some weeks, proclaiming Owen a rebel, destroying the abbey of Ystrad Flûr, ravaging the country, and then, finding his troops exhausted by fatigue and famine, making with them a disgraceful retreat baffled and worsted.

§ 6. The year 1402 was ushered in by a comet, and the fervour of Glyndwrdu's followers was increased by its appearance, which they hailed as a token of good success.

A.D. 1402. By the king's command, Reginald Grey de Ruthyn again raised a body of troops and made war against Owen; but meeting him in battle at the Fyrnwy, he was completely defeated and captured by Owen. His majesty subsequently [2] deputed special commissioners

[1] Rymer's Fœdera, ed. 1709, t. viii. pp. 225, 226, October 1, 1401, was in fact the day fixed for the assembling of the army at Worcester.

[2] October 13, 1402. Ibid. p. 279.

to treat for Lord de Grey's liberation, the ransom was fixed at 10,000 marks, 6,000 to be paid on the next St. Martin's day, and hostages being given for the remaining 4,000. Future neutrality seems to have been a condition agreed upon, for Lord de Grey never again took arms against Owen, and was never afterwards molested by him.

In May, 1402, Prince Henry led a predatory expedition from Shrewsbury against Owen's homestead at Sycarth, ravaged Glyndwfrdwy, and killed many men, among them being one of great wealth, who vainly offered 500*l.* for the ransom of his life.

About this time Owen's adherents, at his command, burned and destroyed the cathedrals of Bangor and St. Asaph,[1] with the episcopal palace and the canons' houses of the latter see; this he did to punish the clergy of North Wales for their zeal in the cause of Bolingbroke; and more especially John Trevor, bishop of St. Asaph, who owed his bishopric to Richard II., and had nevertheless pronounced sentence of deposition upon him in Henry's favour, and then accepted the office of ambassador to the court of Spain to justify the usurpation.

In June, 1402, Owen attacked and ravaged the Welsh territories of young Edmund, earl of March, who, together with his brother Roger, a still younger child, was then held in custody by the king on account of his having been acknowledged by parliament to be King Richard's lineal heir. Sir Edmund Mortimer, their uncle and proper guardian, hastening to protect the lands, encountered Owen on the 22nd at Brynglas, near Pilleth, in Maeleinydd. The Welsh tenants deserted Mortimer in the onset; nevertheless a bloody conflict ensued; 1,100 of Sir Edmund's followers were slain, and he was himself taken prisoner by Owen.

[1] Rymer's Fœdera, ed. 1709, t. viii. pp. 222, 240.

CHAP. XXIV.

King Henry now resolved[1] to suppress the Welsh insurrection by invading the country from three sides simultaneously. The first division of his army he commanded in[2] person, and fixed its place of meeting at Shrewsbury. The Earl of Arundel commanded the second, which had its rendezvous at Hereford; and Prince Henry commanded the third, which had its rendezvous at Chester; the day appointed for each being August 27, 1402.

In the beginning of that month Owen ravaged Morganwg, burned the Bishop of Llandaff's castle and the archdeacon's house, and the towns of Caerdiff and Abergavenny, and then returned to prepare for the invaders by driving away the flocks and herds from the plains and valleys to the mountains, and removing goods and families to his almost inaccessible fortresses.

On the 15th the Scots, led by Earl Douglas, and acting in concert with Owen, crossed the northern English border,[3] and made a devastating inroad upon the lands of the king's loyal subjects; but Douglas was defeated and taken prisoner by the Percys at the battle of Holmidon Hill, September 14, 1402. The king advanced with his forces into Wales, and Owen withdrew his troops into the mountain fastnesses, one of them being Caer Drewyn, near Corwen, from whence he kept vigilant watch and ward over his paternal home. Meanwhile the king penetrated into Mona, putting all to the sword who offered to oppose him, plundering and burning the convent of Llanfaes, killing some of the monks and carrying others away; but storms, heavy rains, and bewildering mists soon troubled his army, active foes were ever ready to waylay foraging parties,

[1] June 25, 1402; Rymer's Fœdera, ed. 1709, t. viii. pp. 264, 265, 268.
[2] Ibid. pp. 271, 272. [3] Ibid. pp. 257, 278, 279.

and sickness and want of food at last constrained him to make an inglorious retreat. To cover its disgrace, the frustrated invaders attributed their discomfiture to preternatural obstructions raised by the necromancy of Owen.

Henry Percy's wife was the sister of Sir Edmund Mortimer, and the Percys urgently besought the king to be allowed to ransom him. The king, however, rejoiced in the humiliation of a rival house, and would not listen to any proposals which might lead to Sir Edmund's liberation. Owen, meanwhile, treated his distinguished prisoner with the utmost kindness, and succeeded in winning his friendship and confidence, so that Sir Edmund, communicating with the slighted and offended Percys, induced them with Earl Douglas to unite in a confederacy against the reigning king.

The confederation was yet a secret, but relying upon its strength, and upon the popular favour which his cause had won in Wales, Owen now called together all the landowners of the Principality. Those who favoured his claim obeyed the summons and assembled at Machynllaeth, where they solemnly recognized him as their sovereign. He was accordingly proclaimed Prince of Wales, and crowned in their presence on September 20.

On December 13, 1402, Sir Edmund Mortimer informed his tenantry that he had joined Owen ab Gruffydd of Glyndwfrdwy for the purpose of restoring King Richard if still[1] alive; and if not, of making Edmund Mortimer, earl of March, king of England, and of securing to Owen the sovereignty of Wales.

§ 7. In March, 1403, Prince Henry was appointed[2]

[1] Rymer's Fœdera, ed. 1709, t. viii. pp. 255, 261, 262, 268, 269.

[2] Ibid, pp. 291, 292, 304, 305.

CHAP. XXIV.

lieutenant of Wales and the border counties, for the especial purpose of frustrating the confederacy of Owen and Sir Edmund Mortimer, and soon afterwards a tripartite treaty was signed against King Henry.

A.D. 1403.

Dafydd Aberdaron, dean of Bangor, a descendant of Caradog ab Iestyn, prince of Morganwg, was a zealous Cymro, who earnestly desired justice for Wales, and believed that it could be obtained only by means of national independence. At his house,[1] therefore, the confederates met, and he acted as clerk of that illustrious council which, with a map spread before them, parcelled out the realm between them, the Percy claiming all England northward of the Trent, Sir Edmund Mortimer, on behalf of his young nephew, claiming all the country from Trent and from Severn to the southern and eastern shores of the island, and Owen taking as his portion all the lands lying westward of the rivers Severn and Wye. According to an old prediction ascribed to Merlin, the Dragon, the Lion, and the Wolf were to divide the kingdom between them, and Moldwarp was to be destroyed, and thus the bards believed its fulfilment had begun.

Late in June, or early in July, Owen was again in South Wales, raising recruits among his friends, and exacting supplies from his foes. He met with a repulse from the lord of Carew Castle, but carrying fire and sword through the lands of the king's adherents in western and south-western Wales, he so terrified the constables of the royal castles, that many surrendered at his approach, and the Archdeacon of Hereford wrote on July 10, entreating the king to send the power of England to check the ravages of the advancing foe.

[1] Shakspeare, First Part of King Henry IV. act iii. scene 1.

Owen, in the course of his campaign, burned several of the king's castles; this phrase including all that were garrisoned for the king. After having dismantled Tre Twr, he encountered at Mynydd Cwmdû, Richard Beauchamp, earl of Warwick, the royal lieutenant, who attacked him and constrained him to retreat with the loss of his banner and of many men. Nevertheless, Owen again rallied his scattered forces, and pursued his victor so rapidly that he overtook the earl and his army at Craig y Dorth, near Monmouth, defeated them in the second conflict, and chased them to the very gates of the town which took them in.

On July 12[1] orders were despatched from Westminster to the lieutenant of Gloucestershire to keep watch and ward against an expected irruption of the Welsh. On the 16th the king, being at Burton-upon-Trent, issued further proclamations, and hearing that Henry Percy had led from Berwick the Earl of Northumberland's retainers, accompanied by Earl Douglas and his Scottish auxiliaries, into Cheshire, where he was augmenting his forces with many of King Richard's partisans, immediately returned to London; from thence, on the 18th, he dispersed more proclamations for the levy of troops, and advanced by rapid marches upon Shrewsbury, hoping to prevent the obviously intended junction there of the northern powers with the Welsh levies of Mortimer and Owen.

Percy and Douglas, with their troops and 400 men sent by Owen, were laying siege to the town of Shrewsbury, and about to scale its walls; Sir Edmund Mortimer and his nephew's retainers were on the way, but had not yet come up; Glyndwrdu, unaware of the king's sudden approach, was still occupied in South

[1] Rymer's Fœdera, ed. 1709, t. viii. pp. 304, 305, 313, 314.

CHAP. XXIV.

Wales; when, on July 22,[1] King Henry encamped his army within three miles of Shrewsbury, upon the side next Oswestry, and upon ground since known as the Battlefield. Percy at once raised the siege, and rashly disdaining to wait for the arrival of his confederates, rejected an offer of negociation, and attacked the royal army. Defeat and slaughter were the assailants' lot, and Henry Percy was found among the slain.

The affairs of the king called him promptly into the north of England, and when the victorious army was withdrawn, Owen mercilessly ravaged the border lands. This dire retaliation continued for many weeks, but early in September the king returned to Worcester, and spent some weeks in rebuilding and[2] strengthening the royal castles, encouraging meanwhile by proclamations of pardon the defection of Owen's partisans.

King Henry's writ, issued September 8 (A.D. 1403), and addressed to Guy de Mona, bishop of St. David's, then Keeper of the Privy Seal and Treasurer of England, commends to him the safe custody of the castle of Llawhaden; that of Llanymdovery to Lord Audeley; that of Llaugharn to Sir Henry le Scrope; that of Crug Howel to John Pauncefoot, Tretwr to James Berkeley, Abergavenny and Harold Ewyias to Sir William Beauchamp, Goderich to Sir Thomas Nevill de Furnival, Eardisley to Sir Nicolas Montgomery, Caerleon and Usk to Sir Edward Charlton of Powys, Caerphilly and Gwialacy to Constantia, lady De Spencer; Manorbeer to Sir John Cornwall, Payne's Castle and Royl to Thomas, earl of Warwick; Huntingdon to Ann,

[1] Rymer's Fœdera, ed. 1709, t. viii. Compare the dates of three documents, pp. 318, 319, 320; the heading of the last is distinct—'De Potestate recipiendi Rebelles ad Gratiam, qui juxta Salopiam, 22 Julii, debellati.'

[2] Ibid. pp. 328, 329, 331–333, 353. Hereford, September 14; Defynog, September 15; Westminster, September 27.

countess of Stafford, Lynhales (?Lyonshall) and Dorstone to Sir Walter Fitz Walter; Stapleton to John Brian, baron of Burford; Brampton to Brian de Brampton, and Snowdon to Sir John Chandos. CHAP. XXIV.

Other deeds, dated severally September 14 and 15, authorize William Beauchamp to grant pardons to certain Welshmen, his vassals, for having borne arms in Glyndwrdu's cause against King Henry, and empower Sir John Oldcastle and others to pardon certain inhabitants of the towns of Brecknock, Buallt, Can Cressely, Hay, Glynbough, and Dinas, to receive their weapons, and to oblige them to take an oath of fidelity.

§ 8. (A.D. 1404.) About this time John Trevor, bishop of St. Asaph, deserted the cause of King Henry for that of Prince Owen, and the Pope sanctioned Owen's appointment of Llewelyn, otherwise called Lewis, Bifort to the see of Bangor, thus tacitly approving the deposition and imprisonment of Richard Yonge, the former bishop, who received as a compensation the see of Rochester from King Henry.

Prince Henry took his station sometimes at Shrewsbury, sometimes at Hereford, and sometimes at Worcester, but his utmost success against Owen consisted in forcing him to re-cross Offa's Dyke. A league offensive and defensive was concluded in this year between Charles VI., king of France, and Owen, the native and actual Prince of Wales.

On May 10,[1] Owen sent from Dolgellau his chancellor, Gruffydd Yonge, archdeacon of Merionydd, and his wife's kinsman, John Hanmer, as ambassadors to the French court. The treaty was signed at Paris on July 14, by the French king and by the representatives of

[1] Rymer's Fœdera, ed. 1709, t. viii. pp. 356, 365–368, 382.

CHAP. XXIV.

the Welsh prince, and ratified on January 12, 1405, by Owen, at his castle of Llanbadarn.

The plan which Owen Glyndwrdu, Henry Percy, and Sir Edmund Mortimer had formed, was frustrated by the defeat and death of Percy; but another was speedily substituted for it, in which Owen and the Earl of Northumberland undoubtedly, and probably Sir Edmund Mortimer, again took prominent parts, although the latter acted no longer with a view to personal aggrandizement, but merely to promote the interests of his nephews, the next heirs of the deceased King Richard II. The confederates now proposed to liberate the young Edmund Mortimer, earl of March, to make him king of England in Henry's stead, and to place him under the care of Owen as protector. Constantia Plantagenet, widow of Lord le Despencer, being unsuspected of complicity in any plot, succeeded by means of false keys in liberating the two boys from their imprisonment in Windsor Castle; and she was journeying with them towards Wales, when their pursuers overtook and captured the whole party, and then led them back again to Windsor. This occurred early in March, and on the[1] 11th of the same month Owen's partisans in Gwent and Morganwg arose in arms to the number of 8,000 men, ravaged the lands of their hostile neighbours, and burned the town of Grosmont.

Prince Henry's forces, under the command of Sir Gilbert Talbot, Sir William Newport, and Sir John Greindre, advanced to meet the insurgents, and soon defeated and scattered them, slaying 800 men. Owen, hearing of this misfortune, immediately sent his son Gruffydd with fresh troops to rally the fugitives, and

[1] Rymer's Fœdera, ed. 1709, t. viii. pp. 390, 391.

to re-establish his martial fame. Another conflict therefore ensued on March 15, at Mynydd y Pwll Melen in Brycheiniog, but the issue was again disastrous to the cause of Glyndwrdu; his brother Tewdwr being slain, his son Gruffydd and Chancellor Yonge captured, and 1,500 of his men disappearing from service.

In consequence of these discomfitures, Morganwg submitted at discretion to King Henry's troops, a panic seized the insurgent chieftains, and Owen for a time withdrew from general observation, concealing himself in out of the way places with his most trusty friends.

On the detection of the Earl of Northumberland's second conspiracy, Sir John Gruffydd, a Welsh knight, was executed for complicity therein, and the Bishops of St. Asaph and Bangor, Owen's accredited agents, fled for their lives from the home of the Percys into Scotland.

§ 9. French troops, in the spring of the year 1405, had made several attacks upon various parts of the English coast, with the intention of dividing King Henry's forces, and favouring the Welsh insurrection and that of the northern earls.

Meanwhile, the Duke of Orleans, lieutenant-general of the kingdom of France, under his imbecile brother Charles VI., prepared a fleet of 140 ships, which sailed from Brest about the end of June, bearing an army of 12,000 men. These troops disembarked from Milford Haven, under the command of the Count de Hugueville, and besieged Haverfordwest, which was so ably defended by the Earl of Arundel, that the French were constrained to march away with loss. At Caermarthen they had better success, and took the town

CHAP. XXIV.

by capitulation, allowing the garrison to depart with military honours.

Owen, with 10,000 men, having joined De Hugueville, the united host marched triumphantly through Morganwg and Gwent into Herefordshire, and proceeding into Worcestershire, approached its chief city, ravaging the country round and burning the suburbs.

In August King Henry heard of the French invasion, and after having taken active measures of resistance, he marched in person from Pontefract to encounter De Hugueville. As the king and his army approached, the allied forces withdrew. The French entrenched themselves upon a high hill about three leagues westward of Worcester. Owen's camp is said by tradition to have been pitched on Woodbury Hill, in the parish of Whitley, the site being that of an ancient British caer surrounded by one trench, and affording a safe retreat towards Wales. Pennant, who surveyed the ground, declares that it agrees precisely with Monstrelet's description, and refers to a plan given in Nash's History of Worcestershire. King Henry and his army, from the western outskirts of the city, watched the movements of his foes, and during eight days the adverse armies severally endeavoured to tempt each other to make the first attack, neither of the leaders venturing to quit his advantageous position, although occasional skirmishes occurred, in which some distinguished French officers were slain. Not more than 200 men were killed on either side in these encounters, but many were wounded. It was King Henry's strategy to cut off the enemies' supplies, and he did it so effectually, that on the eighth day, at midnight, De Hugueville and his troops, worn down with watchfulness and famine, stealthily left their entrench-

ments and retreated into Wales, closely followed by Owen and his men. CHAP. XXIV.

King Henry proceeded to Hereford,[1] and attempted to pursue his retreating foes, but the ravaged borderlands yielded no forage, tempestuous weather set in, his presence was required near York, and the month of September being far advanced, forbade his intended war of retaliation. Having already lost fifty of his baggage-waggons by floods, morasses, and predatory seizures, the king with his army retired hastily, while Glyndwrdu placed the French troops in winter quarters, and dispersed his own to their several homes.

Meanwhile Prince Henry had undertaken the siege of Llanbedr Castle,[2] and Rhys ab Gruffydd ab Llewelyn ab Jencin, who held it for Owen, being hardly pressed, was induced to sign a document, by which he undertook that, if not relieved between October 24 and November 1, he would deliver it up, together with the '*canones*'[3] and other instruments of war. Satisfied with this apparent success, the prince left his officers to await the expected surrender, and withdrew to other occupations; but Owen coming up, and learning what stipulations had been made, turned out the governor and garrison, and replaced them with other men.

The French fleet having been diminished by hostile attacks, and withdrawn from Milford Haven, and the French troops being expensive visitors and having no adequate employment, Owen provided transports in the spring of the year 1406, on which De Hugueville

[1] Rymer's Fœdera, ed. 1709, t. viii. pp. 412–414.

[2] In Rymer's Fœdera, ed. 1709, t. viii. pp. 419, 497–499, there is obviously a confusion of dates concerning this siege, for the two documents certainly relate to the same castle and to the same month and year.

[3] 'Anglicè Gunnes vocatorum.'

CHAP. XXIV.

gradually embarked his men and returned to France; the last division departing in the month of March, and friendly relations being maintained between Owen and the French government.

The defection of the people of Ystrad Towy at this time tended much to the discouragement of Owen's adherents throughout the Principality; but he continued to maintain his authority so effectively, that the English parliament, which in former years had prematurely given away his property and the estates of his partisans, now found it necessary to decree that no heritages conquered from the Welsh should be granted to new owners until three months after possession had been obtained. This regulation afforded hope to such of the Welsh landowners as might be tempted by a prospect of retaining their estates, to forsake a declining cause.

About this time, the fugitive Earl of Northumberland, Lord Bardolf, and other leaders of the northern rebellion, found a secure and hospitable refuge with Glyndwrdu.

In the year 1407, Owen lost the castle of Harlech, but he continued to make predatory war from his mountain fortresses, and to assist his English guests in the organization of a third rebellion in northern England. The Earl of Northumberland and his fugitive coadjutors having arranged with their friends and feudatories the plan of proceedings, left Wales, and returned to their homes to encourage the mustering of their forces, and on February 28, 1408, they lost their lives in the battle of Branham Moor, in Yorkshire. This event appears to have restrained the fiery spirit of Glyndwrdu, and it quenched for ever his hope of changing the regnal dynasty of England. Neverthe-

less, he maintained his dignity as sovereign prince of Wales throughout the least accessible parts of the country, and never ceased to assert his right to rule over the whole. He used, from the time of his coronation, a seal bearing his full length portrait, seated in a chair, holding a sceptre in the right hand and a globe in the left. Pennant mentions an extant deed which he had seen to which that seal was affixed, granting a pardon to John ab Howel—'Anno principatus nostri VI° datum apud Cefn Llanfair X° die Jan. per ipsum principem.' The names of the four witnesses are Gruffydd ab Owen and Maredudd ab Owen, Gruffydd Yonge the chancellor, and Rhys ab Tewdwr of Pen Mynydd. It may be inferred from this fact that Gruffydd ab Owen, Owen Glyndwrdu's eldest son, and the chancellor Yonge had regained their liberty after the battle of Grosmont, either by an exchange of prisoners or otherwise.

In the spring of 1409 Glyndwrdu devastated the Welsh estates of King Henry's subjects, and treated with especial severity those districts of Powys which had passed by marriage into the hand of Edward de Charlton.

In the month of May[1] De Charlton, Edward duke of York, Thomas earl of Arundel, Richard earl of Warwick, Reginald lord Grey de Ruthyn, Richard Grey of Codmore, Constantia lady le Despencer, Francis A'Court, and William Beauchamp, received orders from King Henry to act on the defensive, and to make reprisals. Rhys Ddu and Philip Scudamore, two of Owen's best friends, while engaged in ravaging Shropshire, were overpowered and seized by his enemies, taken to London, and there tried, condemned, and

[1] Rymer's Fœdera, ed. 1709, t. viii. p. 588.

CHAP. XXIV.

executed as traitors. Many other Welsh chieftains, after having suffered[1] long imprisonment, were soon afterwards consigned likewise to the scaffold.

On November 23,[2] King Henry issued a series of writs, commanding that all agreements of truce made by officers of the Lords Marchers and by others with Owen, should be rescinded as illegal and null. These measures, together with rigorous parliamentary enactments, the military activity of Prince Henry and of the king's lieutenants and constables, and the grant of free pardons[3] to certain malecontents, effectually repressed the power of Owen, and constrained him to keep within his own fortresses.

§ 10. King Henry IV. died March 20, 1413, and was succeeded by his son Henry V., by birth a Welshman.

Beginning in the year 1400, and ending in the year 1413, the English parliament had passed a series of the most unjust and cruel laws that ever disgraced the Statute Book, being in fact the vindictive edicts of a ferocious partisan rather than the corrective measures of a paternal government. The period includes nearly the whole reign of Henry IV. and the first few months of the reign of Henry V.; and those laws remained unrepealed for many following years.

In 1415, Owen still maintained his independence, and on July 5, Henry V. being then at Porchester Castle, deputed Sir Gilbert Talbot to negotiate with him, even to the extent of promising pardon to him and his adherents, provided they would condescend to ask for it. On September 21 in the same year, unsubmissive and unsubdued, Owen died at the house of

[1] Rymer's Fœdera, ed. 1709, t. viii. pp. 599, 600.
[2] Ibid. pp. 611, 612.
[3] Ibid. p. 711.

his youngest daughter, in the parish of Monnington and county of Hereford.

He had five sons and five daughters. Of the latter Isabel, the eldest, married Adam ab Iorwerth Ddu; Alicia married Sir John Scudamore of Ewyas and Holm Lacy, escheator of Herefordshire, Gloucestershire, and the Marches of Wales; Janet married Sir John Croft of Croft Castle in the county of Hereford; and Margaret married Roger Monnington of Monnington in the same county. Pennant denies that a daughter of Glyndwrdu ever married a Mortimer, and he asserts that a daughter named Jane, or Joan, standing fourth on his list, was married to Lord Grey de Ruthyn, but neither Debrett nor Burke mention such an alliance.

The pacific proposal of King Henry V. was renewed February 24, 1416, and accepted by Maredudd ab Owen Glyndwrdu.

Several interesting Welsh episodes belong to the reigns of Henry IV. and V., but want of space permits only a brief record of one.

§ 11. The first wife of King Henry IV. was Mary de Bohun, a co-heiress; and in her right he possessed large estates in Brycheiniog, and bore the title of duke of Hereford.

David, surnamed Gam, of Peytin, in the parish of Garthbrengy, was consequently King Henry IV.'s feudal tenant and military retainer, and being zealous for the house of Lancaster, and unscrupulous as to the method of furthering its interests, he attended the Welsh parliament of September 20, 1402, under the pretext of supporting Owen's claims, but with the secret intention of assassinating that prince. Owen's friends, however, averted the blow, and caused David to be arrested and forthwith imprisoned.

CHAP. XXIV.

For eleven years David Gam[1] was detained a prisoner, and being then liberated for a ransom, he returned to his native district, and soon manifested such fierce animosity towards the partisans of Owen, that the native prince marched into Brycheiniog, devastated his lands, burnt his house, and made an extemporary stanza in his wrath, while Gam fled to the English court and attached himself more firmly than ever to the fortunes of the Plantagenets.

In 1415 he raised a body of forces from the Bohun estates, and at their head recruited the army of King Henry, which he accompanied to France. The eloquent pen of Sir Walter Raleigh has celebrated Gam's valiant exploits at the battle of Agincourt, October 25, when having been sent to ascertain the numbers of the foe, he made on his return the remarkable reply, 'that there were enough to kill, enough to capture, and enough to run away;' and in the course of the engagement, together with his son-in-law, Roger Fychan, and his cousin, Walter Llwyd, rescued the king from danger at the price of his own life, and as he lay expiring on the field, received with them from the grateful and sorrowing king the honour of knighthood.

§ 12. King Henry V.[2] died in the Bois de Vincennes, near Paris, August 31, 1422.

[1] Rymer's Fœdera, ed. 1709, t. viii. p. 753.
[2] Nicolas, Chronology of History, ed. 1833, p. 303.

CHAPTER XXV.

THE PLANTAGENET PRINCES OF THE CYMRY.

FROM THE ACCESSION OF HENRY VI. TO THE DEATH OF RICHARD III.
A.D. 1422–1485.

. . . . York and Lancaster
Divided in their dire division.
SHAKSPEARE: *King Richard III.* act v. scene 4.

§ 1. KING HENRY V. left[1] one infant child, a son, who[2] never bore the title of Prince of Wales, but succeeded his father upon the English throne as Henry VI.

The widow of Henry V. and mother of the young king was Catherine, daughter of Charles VI., king of France. She took for her second husband, in 1428, Owen ab Maredudd ab Tewdwr ab Gronw ab Tewdwr ab Gronw ab Ednyfed Fychan of Tegeingl, whose wife, Gwenllian ferch Rhys ab Gruffydd, prince of Deheubarth, sent the current of royal British blood into the veins of her handsome, valiant, and accomplished descendant. He was known at the English court as Sir Owen Tewdwr, of Penmynydd in Anglesey, and he and Queen Catherine were the[3] parents of one daughter

[1] Nicolas, Chronology of History.
[2] Dodridge's Historical Account.
[3] Pennant's Tours in North Wales, ed. 1810, vol. iii. pp. 46–49.

CHAP. XXV.

who died an infant, and of three sons, Edmund, Jasper, and Owen.

The Queen died in 1437, and Sir Owen was then punished for his ambitious marriage by imprisonment in Newgate, while the two eldest children were committed to the care of the Lady Catherine de la Pole, abbess of Berking. Sir Owen twice escaped from captivity, and was at last permitted to enjoy his freedom. In the year 1452 his son Edmund was created earl of Richmond, and his son Jasper was created earl of Pembroke, precedence over all other noblemen being at the same time granted to them by Henry VI., their half-brother. Owen, the third son, became a monk of Westminster, and did not live long enough to receive any ecclesiastical preferment.

On October 14, 1453, Prince Edward, the king's only son, was born, and on October 30, 1454, the child was created by one [1] patent prince of Wales and earl of Chester, and invested with the usual formalities. The charter was confirmed two years afterwards by Act of Parliament.

§ 2. Edmund of Hadham, earl of Richmond, Sir Owen's eldest son, married in or about the year 1455 the Lady [2] Margaret, only child of John Beaufort, duke of Somerset; and on January 21, 1456, their only son Henry was born in Pembroke Castle, and became fatherless in the course of the same year. In 1459 Sir Owen received from the king a grant of 100*l.* a year out of the royal Kentish manors of Falkston,

[1] Dodridge's Historical Account; Powel's Historie of Cambria, ed. 1584, p. 388.

[2] Granger's Biographical History of England; Walpole's Catalogue of Royal and Noble Authors, Park's ed.; Wilford's Memorials and Characters; Ballard's Memoirs of Learned British Ladies; Biographia Britannica.

Walton, and Bensted; and in 1460 his good services were rewarded by a grant of the parks in the lordship of Denbigh.

At the battle of Mortimer's Cross, February 2, 1461, Sir Owen Tewdwr fought under the Lancastrian banner of his son, the earl of Pembroke, against Edward Plantagenet, duke of York, and in the defeat and rout which ensued he was taken prisoner, and together with several other eminent Lancastrians beheaded at Hereford, and buried there within the precincts of the Grey Friars' monastery.

On Easter day, April 14, 1471, Edward of York defeated the Earl of Warwick in the battle of Barnet. Eighteen days afterwards, Queen Margaret and the Prince of Wales and their French forces, with the Duke of Somerset, the militia which the duke had raised, and the remains of the slain Earl of Warwick's army, awaited at Tewkesbury the arrival of their zealous coadjutor, Jasper Tewdwr, earl of Pembroke, from Wales, at the head of a large reinforcement of his countrymen, when Edward of York attacked the entrenchments, routed all the troops with dreadful slaughter, and captured the queen, the Prince of Wales, and the Duke of Somerset.

After the engagement, and in the presence of Edward IV. and of the Dukes of Clarence and Gloucester, Edward of Lancaster, prince of Wales, was stabbed to death in cold blood; and but a short time elapsed ere King Henry VI. was privately murdered in the Tower of London, with his regal successor's consent, and probably by the [1] hand of Richard, duke of Gloucester.

Jasper, earl of Pembroke, on receiving intelligence of the disaster and catastrophe at Tewkesbury, dismissed

[1] Lord Bacon's History of the Reign of King Henry VII.

CHAP. XXV.

his troops, and contented himself with watching over the safety of his young nephew, Henry, earl of Richmond.

They continued to live quietly in Wales until the exterminating rage manifested by Edward IV. towards even the last scion of Lancaster warned the kind and faithful guardian to embark with the lad for France. Stress of weather drove their ship upon the fraternal coast of Britanny, and the duke detained them there, although English ambassadors once so far succeeded as to induce him to deliver the two earls into their hands, but promptly feeling that death was intended for them by King Edward, he snatched them again from the ambassadors, and continued to treat them with hospitable kindness.

§ 3. On June 26,[1] 1471, the king, by charter and the usual investiture, created Edward, his eldest son, prince of Wales and earl of Chester. Ludlow Castle,[2] with its appertaining territory, was an hereditary possession of the house of Mortimer, and passed with Anne, the heiress of the main branch, into the possession of the house of York. Edward IV. as well as several of his maternal ancestors had personally held the earldom of March, and in honour of that title he substituted for the office of Warden of the Marches [3] a court composed of a president and council of the Marches. This court was established at Ludlow, and held its first session in the town hall [4] April 10, 1478, when the young Prince of Wales took up his abode at the castle under the care of his maternal uncle, Anthony, earl Rivers. John

[1] Powel's Historie of Cambria, p. 389; Nicolas, Synopsis, vol. i. p. 6; Dodridge's Historical Account.

[2] Gibson's Camden's Brit. ed. 1772, vol. i. p. 471; Wright's Ludlow Castle, ed. 3, 1862.

[3] Baker's Dedication to Dineley's Beaufort Progress of 1684, and Notitia Cambro-Britannica. [4] Powel's Historie of Cambria, p. 389.

Alcock,[1] bishop of Worcester, was appointed president by warrant under the king's sign manual, and the council was composed of the great officers attendant upon the prince, and of other noblemen, bishops, and gentlemen of local influence and importance, who were also appointed by the king. This court had power to decide all such causes as were specially assigned to it by him.

It does not appear that any amelioration took place in the state of the Principality during the reign of Edward IV., which ended with his life[2] April 9, 1483. The Prince of Wales, who was then about twelve years old,[3] became by his father's death king of England. He was taken from Ludlow to London, where he arrived on May 2, and was lodged for a short time in the bishop's palace. The Duke of Gloucester soon afterwards persuaded the widowed queen to deliver Richard, duke of York, into his hands. The young king was delighted to see his little brother, and suspected no harm when their uncle sent them together to the Tower, the place whence English sovereigns usually proceeded to their coronation. His brief and nominal reign ended on[4] June 22, when the Duke of Gloucester possessed himself of the throne. On the 26th of the same month the duke was proclaimed king by the title of Richard III., and soon afterwards the two boys[5] were murdered in the Tower by Forest and Dighton, two ruffians, under the direction of Sir John Tyrrel, to

[1] Translated from Rochester, September 20, 1476; see Nicolas, Synopsis, vol. ii. pp. 879, 891.

[2] Nicolas, Chronology of History, ed. 1833, p. 306.

[3] Isaac Kimber's History of England, ed. 1755, p. 202.

[4] Nicolas, Chronology of History, ed. 1833, pp. 306–308.

[5] Sir Thomas More's History of Richard III.; Lord Bacon's History of the Reign of King Henry VII.

CHAP. XXV.

whom the charge of despatching them had been entrusted by their ambitious and unprincipled uncle.

§ 4. King Richard III. on August 24, in the first year of his reign, created[1] Edward, earl of Salisbury, who was his only son and heir-apparent, prince of Wales and earl of Chester, but the youth died in the following year.

Margaret, countess of Richmond and widow of Sir Henry Stafford, the young earl's mother, had contracted a third marriage with Thomas, second Lord Stanley, of whom she was the second wife. He had been a zealous friend of King Edward IV.; and among many other politic measures taken by King Richard in order to secure a quiet reign, was that of attaching the countess and her husband to his court by appointing Stanley lord steward of the household.

The ambition of the mother prevailed, nevertheless, over the interests of the wife, and she readily, though stealthily, entered into two successive conspiracies, having for their object the dethronement of Richard and the substitution of her son. A tower of Brecon Castle,[2] which still bears the designation of Ely, is said to have been the scene of those interviews between Bishop John Morton, a state prisoner there, and his custodian, Henry Stafford, duke of Buckingham, at which it was arranged that the crown of England should be offered to Henry, earl of Richmond, on condition of his engaging to espouse Elizabeth of York, eldest sister of the murdered boys. The queen dowager, her son Thomas Grey, marquis of Dorset, and many other persons of high rank, approved of the plan, and

[1] Nicolas, Synopsis, vol. i. p. 7; Dodridge's Historical Account; Powel's Historie of Cambria, p. 389.

[2] Jones's History of Brecknockshire, vol. ii.

great pains were taken so to stimulate the feelings of the people as to raise an insurrection in Henry Tewdwr's favour. In expectation of such aid, the young earl obtained troops and transports from the Duke of Britanny, and accompanied by his uncle Jasper set sail in October from St. Malo; but a storm scattered his little fleet in the Channel, and, on approaching the English coast near Poole, he found his forces insufficient to attempt a landing, and was constrained most reluctantly to return.

Meanwhile, King Richard's suspicions were aroused, and he sent peremptory orders to the Lord High Constable to appear at court. The Duke of Buckingham, who held that office, instead of obeying the summons, took up arms and led his Welsh levies through the Marches, intending there among his tenantry to increase his forces, and then to join his confederates in the western counties, and to welcome the Earl of Richmond, whom they expected, in spite of storms, to land upon the southern coast. The weather inland, however, was not less wild than on the sea; the autumnal rains, pouring down upon the mountains, had swollen the springs; the tributary streams had gorged their rivers, and Severn suddenly overflowing its banks inundated the country in its course.. The sheep were swept helplessly away from the lower pastures, the struggling cattle borne away from the meadows, trees wrenched up by the roots from the valleys, buildings torn down piecemeal; and the surging stream, laden with victims and wrecks, rushing along through the vast waste of agitated waters imperilling or destroying human life, and scattering far and wide the bannered host of Buckingham, during six days raged on with unremitting fury.

CHAP. XXV.

With one attendant only the panic-stricken chief himself sought refuge from drowning, from famine, and from foes, in the homestead of a trusted retainer named Banister; but Banister soon found that the king had by proclamation set a high price upon the person of the duke, and Banister betrayed his lord into the hands of the Sheriff of Shropshire, who sent him to Salisbury, where, by King Richard's order, the duke suffered decapitation on November 1, 1483.

These disastrous incidents caused the Marquis of Dorset, the Bishop of Ely, and other active conspirators, to leave England for Britanny; and an act of attainder was passed by Parliament, January 23, 1484, against the Earl of Richmond and all his adherents. Lord Stanley's strict loyalty at this time to King Richard enabled him to obtain pardon and oblivion for his wife Lady Margaret's share in the conspiracy. His brother Sir William,[1] lord of Broomfield, Ial, and Chirk, if implicated, contrived to escape suspicion.

Soon after these events, the failing health of the aged Duke of Britanny enabled Landois, his corrupt minister, to enter into a negotiation with King Richard for delivering up the Earl of Richmond, but happily the Bishop of Ely became acquainted with the project, and gave immediate notice to the earl, who in disguise and with great difficulty effected his escape, and found refuge in France at the court of Charles VIII. Thither his adherents followed him out of Britanny; and many other English noblemen, detesting the iniquitous actions of King Richard, entered for a time upon voluntary exile to offer their services to the earl.

Throughout all England aversion to King Richard, attachment to the other members of the House of York,

[1] Powel's Historie of Cambria, p. 390.

and a desire for the establishment of King Edward IV.'s eldest daughter upon the throne, had now become prevalent. In Wales, the like feelings were blended with strong national prepossessions towards an aspirant of Cymric blood, and Sir Rhys ab Thomas[1] of Carew Castle, who on his extensive lands had more than 1,800 tenants, zealously stirred up the people of South-western Wales in favour of the Tewdwr.

Sir Owen Tewdwr's marriage with Queen Catherine brought that surname into the knowledge and use of English courtiers, who, true to the sound, reproduced it according to the power of English letters, and spelled the word Tudor. Henry, earl of Richmond, and his descendants adopted this orthography, and rendered it the historic designation of a dynasty.

§ 5. The Earl being fully and accurately acquainted with the state of affairs in Britain, prevailed on the French government to assist his enterprise, for which having made deliberate and careful preparations, he set sail from Harfleur with his uncle, his exiled friends, and 2,000 foreign mercenaries. On August 6, 1485, he safely entered Milford Haven, and found Sir Rhys ab Thomas with 2,000 horsemen ready to accelerate his landing. The retainers of the Earl of Pembroke gladly increased the little army, and Henry, unfurling upon the Tewdwr colours, [2]white and green, the sanguine salient dragon of the ancient Cadwaladyr, set forth upon his march. Sir William Herbert brought the forces of Gwent to join him; South Wales and North Wales welcomed his passage and swelled his ranks; and, at Shrewsbury, Sir George Talbot joined his standard with 2,000 well equipped retainers. Knowing that

[1] Cambrian Register, vol. i.; Enwogion Cymru, pp. 448–450.

[2] Pennant's Tours, ed. 1810, vol. i. p. 30.

CHAP. XXV.

King Richard was aware of his landing, and had ordered the military strength of England to Nottingham, Henry, reinforced and encouraged by Sir Walter Hungerford, Sir Thomas Bourchier, and other powerful leaders, marched steadily onward to encounter the host. He trusted not only to the good troops that followed him, and to the common people's detestation of King Richard's crimes, for he had received secret assurance that, on the very battlefield, Lord Stanley and Lord Stanley's brother, Sir William, would desert King Richard and join their forces with his own.

On August 22 the rival hosts met in conflict near Bosworth in Leicestershire. In the midst of the engagement, Henry found his own life in manifest peril, being beset and enclosed by foes, when Lord Stanley hastily sent Sir William with 3,000 men to the rescue, who turned the tide of battle and insured the triumph of the Tewdwr. The last of the Plantagenet kings, when he saw the day was lost, rushed into the thickest ranks of the victors and fought till he was slain. His regal crown of ornament[1] was set by Sir William Stanley upon the Earl of Richmond's head, and the army hailed the conquering Welshman as Henry VII. king of England. Te Deum was chanted on the field, and solemn thanks were afterwards offered up to God for the victory.

§ 6. The well known Welsh tune 'Ffarwel Dai Llwyd' is traditionally reported to have been addressed to the valiant Lord of Cwm Bychan, near Harlech, when he left his home and went with Jasper Tudor and Owen Llawgoch to fight against Risiart Frawdwr—Richard the Traitor.

[1] Lord Bacon's History of the Reign of King Henry VII.

§ 7. King Richard III.[1] founded the Heralds' College, and therefore, at the close of his reign, may fitly be introduced a brief notice of Welsh coat-armour. CHAP. XXV.

Among all nations, from the earliest historic periods,[2] symbolic ensigns and devices appear to have been used to distinguish warlike tribes and individuals from each other. Such were certainly borne by the ancient Gauls, whose military standards are mentioned and described by Greek and Roman[3] writers.

The ancient Britons had their red dragon; Cuthred, the Saxon king of Wessex, bore a golden one[4] in obvious rivalry; the Danes had their raven; and such national ensigns were used from generation to generation; but the symbolic bearings of individuals, being suited to express personal characteristics, did not descend in families until the superstitious veneration attached to all devices used or won in the Crusades gradually introduced to European nations the hereditary retention of coat-armour. It was not, however, fully established in England as distinctive of families[5] until the reign of Henry III. Crests continued to be of arbitrary and occasional use until the days of King Edward II.,[6] when they likewise became hereditary.

The bardic genealogists of Cymrû readily adopted every new form of this symbolic art, and not content with blazoning the surcoats, shields, banners, flags, and pennons of their contemporary kings, princes, and nobles, they attributed to the ensigns and distinctive devices which tradition ascribed to their remote pre-

[1] Noble's History of the Herald's College.
[2] Potter's Æschylus: The Seven Chiefs against Thebes, v. 390-721.
[3] Polybius, lib. ii. c. ii.
[4] Chron. Mon. S. Albani, ed. Riley.
[5] Camden's Remains concerning Britain, ed. 1657, p. 213.
[6] Ibid. p. 230.

CHAP. XXV.

decessors, the quaint peculiarities of mediæval coat-armour.

In Enderbie's [1] Cambria Triumphans may be found a series of engraved shields charged with the arms of British and Cymric chieftains according to bardic tradition. The most recent of these arms are valuable on account of their correctness; others are also valuable because, in a modernized form, they preserve the symbolic ensigns and personal devices of the heroes to whom they are fancifully ascribed; the rest are worthless, for, in defiance of chronology and possibility, they attribute the heraldic inventions of Plantagenet and Tudor-times to Brute,[2] Locrine, Camber, Urien Rheged, Brochwael, and King Cadwaladyr.

A lion [3] rampant in a bordure appears to have been the favourite ensign and the earliest heraldic bearing of the provincial kings of South Wales. A lion rampant without a border appears to have been the favourite ensign and the earliest heraldic bearing of the provincial kings of Powys, and the district princes bore it to the last with certain distinctive differences. Lions and eagles appear to have been the favourite ensigns of North Wales. [4] Gules, three lions passant gardant in pale argent incensed azure, are ascribed to Gruffydd ab Cynan; vert, three eagles in fess or, membered and beaked gules, to Owen Gwynedd.

The arms, quarterly gules and or, four lions passant gardant counterchanged, are set down by Mills in his

[1] Cambria Triumphans; or, Britain in its Perfect Lustre. Reprint for S. Bagster, 1810, from the original edition of 1661.

[2] Geoffrey of Monmouth, lib. i. ii.

[3] Enderbie's Cambria Triumphans.

[4] Burke's Heraldic Illustrations, No. 5, 184; Enderbie's Cambria Triumphans.

Catalogue of Honour[1] as the armorial bearings of Rhodri Mawr, who lived in the ninth century, and during the latter part of his reign was contemporary with king Alfred; but Camden,[2] the chief of antiquaries, and himself an heraldic king-at-arms, distinctly states that the usage of quartering began in foreign countries with the conjunction of the arms of Castile and Leon, and that Edward III. was the earliest king of England who bore a quartered shield.

Sir Samuel Rush Meyrick states, in an explanation prefixed to the second volume of Lewis Dwnn's heraldic visitations of Wales,[3] that the recognized arms of Wales, four lions passant gardant quarterly, are mentioned in the Life of Foulque Fitz Warren, of the time of Henry III. without blazon; and this he avers to be the first coeval document in which they occur. This baron,[4] otherwise called Fulke Fitz Warine, succeeded his father of the same name about A.D. 1195, and died 1263.

The first instance known to Camden of a[5] nobleman bearing arms quarterly was that of Lawrence Hastings, earl of Pembroke, who quartered his paternal coat with that of De Valence, having married the heiress of the House of Lusignan, and holding the earldom in her right (A.D. 1339).

Boutell, in his Heraldry (ed. 3, 1864, p. 160), adduces an earlier instance, that of Symon de Montagu, whose arms are marshalled in a roll of Edward II. A.D. 1308–11.

[1] Folio 209.

[2] Remains, ed. 1657, pp. 226, 227. See also the engraved facsimile of King Alfonso's seal, Rymer's Fœdera, ed. 1704, t. i. p. 531.

[3] Ed. Welsh MSS. Society.

[4] Nicolas, Synopsis, vol. i.

[5] Camden's Remains, ed. 1657, p. 227; Nicolas Synopsis, vol. ii.

CHAP. XXV.

It seems therefore probable, that if Rhodri Mawr used the four lions, he did so separately on flags, or conjointly on a banner, with the intention of showing his sovereignty over Gwynedd, Powys, Deheubarth, and the Isle of Man. Those arms were undoubtedly borne by Llewelyn ab Gruffydd; but heralds vary in blazoning the first and fourth and second and third quarters, some giving the field or the precedence, and others gules. The red dragon, either passant or rampant, has from the earliest times been deemed the ancient standard of Cymric Britain collectively, always used by the Pendragon.

King Henry VII.[1] used, as the supporters of the arms of England on the dexter side, the red dragon of Wales, and on the sinister side a greyhound argent accolled gules, in right of his wife, Elizabeth of York, who derived it from the Nevilles, earls of Westmoreland. King Henry VIII. used the same supporters during the former part of his reign; afterwards he discarded the greyhound and adopted a lion as the dexter supporter, removing the dragon to the sinister side. The same supporters were used until the accession of King James.

Camden's sketch for Queen Elizabeth's funeral[2] omits the blazon of the Welsh banner, but quarterly gules and or, four lions passant gardant counterchanged, are the bearings authorized by the MS. 2 Geo. IV. in the Heralds' College for that queen. The Welsh crest, a red dragon passant, has been invariably borne by every British sovereign from the days of King Henry VII. until now.

[1] Pennant's Tours in North Wales, ed. 1810, 1773; Dineley's Beaufort Progress. For some variations in the use made by Henry VII. and Henry VIII. of their armorial supporters, the reader is referred to Boutell's Heraldry, ed. 3, p. 302.

[2] Sir S. R. Meyrick's Explanation, prefixed to the 2nd vol. of Lewis Dwnn's Heraldic Visitations of Wales.

Existing monuments and memorials prove that [1] an ostrich feather was used as a badge by King Edward III. and his family, and, ever since the reign of Henry VII.,[2] the three ostrich feathers in a circlet or coronet have formed the cognizance of the Prince of Wales. Though not of Cymric origin, the Welsh have learned to love that cognizance from its connection with the ascendancy of their race.

§ 8. There is so evident a reaction between the character of a nation and the sports and games practised among the people, that from a knowledge of the one the other might almost be inferred. The games of the Welsh had been so long in use as to have taken a systematic form when Dr. John Davies of Llanferras,[3] Denbighshire, published an account of them in his [4] dictionary. They were [5] twenty-four in number, ten being manly, six of which consisted in trials of bodily strength by raising weights, running, leaping, swimming, wrestling, and riding races, either on horseback or in chariots; the other four required skill in the use of weapons, and consisted of archery, sword and buckler, the two-handed sword, and the two-ended staff. Another ten were deemed juvenile: of these three belonged to the chase, and consisted of coursing with the greyhound, fishing, and fowling; seven were of a domestic kind, namely poetical competition, playing on the harp, reading Cymraeg, singing a cywydd to music, singing a cywydd with accents between four persons, and drawing heraldic devices and coat-armour.

[1] Clarke's Heraldry, edited by Planché, 1866, p. 118; Boutell' Heraldry, ed. 3, pp. 256–260.

[2] Clarke's Heraldry, p. 88.

[3] Afterwards of Mallwyd, Merionethshire.

[4] Antiq. Ling. Brit. Dict. Duplex, 1632.

[5] Pennant's Tours in North Wales, ed. 1810, vol. iii. pp. 120–122.

CHAP. XXV.

The four remaining games were: one resembling fox and goose, and called chwarau gwydd bwyll; one resembling backgammon, called chwarau tawl bwrdd; another, played with dice only, called chwarau ffristail; and the cyweiriaw, tuning the harp.

Besides the games above-enumerated, the celebrated [1]knappan and several sorts of [2]ball-playing were common among the Welsh.

[1] Cambrian Register, vol. i. p. 168.
[2] Roberts's Cambrian Popular Antiquities, pp. 122, 123, 331-353.

CHAPTER XXVI.

THE TUDOR DYNASTY.

A.D. 1485–1603.

So shall the Briton blood their crown again reclaim.
SPENSER'S *Faery Queen*, book iii. canto iii. stanza xlviii.

§ 1. THE partisans of the White Rose accepted Henry as the restorer of the House of York in the person of Elizabeth his affianced wife. The partisans of the Red Rose regarded him in his mother's stead as the representative of the extinct House of Lancaster. But Henry, from the first day of his reign until the last, never failed to consider himself as the victor of Bosworth Field, and king of England in his own personal right; scorning to be deemed 'a king at courtesy,' and scarcely enduring to stand upon the doubtful claim of a descent from Catherine Swinburne, although he did not hesitate to reckon both his maternal and matrimonial rights in the accumulation of claims to which victory, parliament, and [1] a papal bull gave confirmation.

He appointed Sir William Stanley lord chamberlain of the royal household, and allowed him to possess the vast spoils of Bosworth Field. He appointed Lord

[1] Lord Bacon's History of the Reign of King Henry VII.

CHAP. XXVI.

Stanley lord high constable, created him an earl, October 27, 1485, and enriched him with suitable territories. But he was well content to see his mother merely a countess-consort of Derby, after he had created Jasper, his paternal uncle, Duke of Bedford, October 2, 1485; a title previously borne by John, regent of France, uncle of King Henry VI.

On October 30, 1485, Henry was crowned king of England by Cardinal Thomas Bourchier, archbishop of Canterbury and lord chancellor; and, at that time, the king instituted a band of fifty archers under a captain, to be called Yeomen of the Guard, to watch over the security of his person, and to protect all future sovereigns of England in succession.

On November 7, 1485, King Henry's first parliament assembled at Westminster, and by his direction enacted 'that the inheritance of the crown should rest, remain, and abide in the king,' and be entailed on his posterity; that all attainders and judgments given against his adherents should be reversed and annulled; and that certain persons should then be specially attainted. With the exception of those persons, several of whom were already dead, the king, by public proclamation, offered to all his enemies a general pardon. His object in attainting the dead was the disinheriting of their posterity, and the forfeiture of their estates to the crown.

Sir Harris Nicolas[1] mentions the singular anomaly, that although the battle of Bosworth was undoubtedly fought on August 22, some contemporary documents, of unquestionable authenticity, date the commencement of Henry's reign from the 21st. This may probably be accounted for as a legal fiction suggested by the

[1] Chronology of History, ed. 1833, pp. 309–314.

political expediency of passing an act of attainder against Richard, who could not be deemed guilty of usurping Henry's right if Henry were not the rightful king when Richard fought against him.

§ 2. The accession of Henry did not proximately cause the repeal of the cruel laws which had long afflicted the Cymry; but he granted them a charter, which rendered the administration less rigorous, and relieved the people from the most grievous part of their thraldom. A knowledge of the sovereign's predilections and belief in his good will tended also to soothe the feelings of his countrymen and to mitigate the malice of their foes.

Writing of the feudal system, and of the manner in which it was qualified by William the Conqueror and his successors, Hallam says[1]: 'Still, however, there remained the original principle, that allegiance depended conditionally upon good treatment, and that an appeal might be lawfully made to arms against an oppressive government.' In connection with this declaration, the same discriminating historian adds: 'As to the Welsh frontier, it was constantly almost in a state of war, which a very little good sense and benevolence in any one of our shepherds would have easily prevented by admitting the conquered people to partake in equal privileges with their fellow-subjects. Instead of this, they satisfied themselves with aggravating the mischief by granting legal reprisals upon Welshmen.'[2]

In confirmation of this statement, the author quotes Henry IV. c. 16; and the statement applies more especially to the period between the fall of the last

[1] Hallam's View of the State of Europe during the Middle Ages, 11th ed. 1855, vol. iii. p. 163.

[2] Ibid. p. 169, note.

CHAP. XXVI.

native sovereign and the charter of liberties granted by King Henry VII.

§ 3. King Henry, finding that people spoke reproachfully of his grandfather as a man of low degree, issued a commission to the Abbot of Llanegwest, to Dr. Owen Poole, canon of Hereford, and to John King, an English herald, empowering them to make inquisition concerning Sir Owen Tudor's parentage. These commissioners, having occasion to consult Cymraeg MSS., called to their aid Sir John Leyaf, Guttyn Owen, a bard; Gruffydd ab Llewelyn ab Evan Vychan, and some other Welsh genealogists; and having together diligently sought out and studied the ancient books of pedigrees, they traced Sir Owen's lineage to the ancient kings of Britain, ascending through Ednyfed Fychan, Cocl Godebog, and Beli Mawr to Brutus, in five score degrees; and proving also his descent from Llewelyn ab Iorwerth, from the Lord Rhys, prince of Deheubarth, and from Llewelyn ab Gruffydd. The pedigree[1] of King Henry VII., duly attested by the commissioners, is given at full length in the Appendix to Wynne's History of Wales.

§ 4. His marriage with Elizabeth of York was solemnized January 18, 1486. On September 20, in the same year, their eldest son was born, whom the King[2] 'in honour of the British race, of which himself was, named Arthur, according to the name of that ancient, worthy king of the Britons, in whose acts there is truth enough to make him famous besides that which is fabulous.' On November 20,[3] in the year 1489, King Henry created his heir apparent, Arthur, prince

[1] Ed. 1697, pp. 331–334.

[2] Lord Bacon's History of the Reign of King Henry VII.

[3] Powel's Historie of Cambria, p. 390.

of Wales and earl of Chester, with the usual investiture.

On October 4, 1501, the Lady Catherine, fourth daughter of Ferdinand II., king of Aragon, and Isabella queen of Castile, arrived at Plymouth, and she was married at St. Paul's to Arthur, prince of Wales, on November 14 following. Her father gave her as a portion 200,000 ducats, and her jointure was the third part of the principality of Wales, and of the earldom of Chester, and of the dukedom of Cornwall. Great magnificence was displayed at this wedding, and the British hero King Arthur had his part among the 'devices, conceits, and triumphs.' The residence of the young pair was fixed at Ludlow Castle, and there Arthur held his court as Prince of Wales, assisted by a president and council. He had the reputation of being studious and learned beyond his years, and far beyond the custom of princes. Of his disposition and character little else is known. He died at Ludlow Castle, April 2, 1502.

§ 5. On February 18, 1503, Henry, duke of York, the king's second son, was by his father created prince of Wales and earl of Chester with the usual investiture.

The old Druidical practice of publicly denouncing enemies before a battle had, in a modified form, been kept up through successive ages; and it was customary during this reign, at certain seasons, to curse the king's opponents by name at St. Paul's Cross, even though they did not actually bear arms against him.

As long as Jasper Tudor, duke of Bedford, retained life and health, the king, his nephew, entrusted him with the chief command of his military power. Lord Bacon, enumerating the leaders of the army which Henry had prepared for the invasion of France, men-

CHAP. XXVI.

tions 'Richard (? Rhys) Thomas, much noted for the brave troops that he brought out of Wales;' and during this king's whole reign he manifested upon all occasions peculiar confidence in the military forces of his native land.

The encouragement given by Henry VII. to Sebastian Cabot, and to other adventurous sailors, cherished among the English that zeal for maritime discovery which continues a national characteristic.

A passage in Bacon's history of this reign authenticates the prediction assigned by Shakspeare to King Henry VI., when seeing the young Earl of Richmond with Henry de Beaufort, duke of Somerset, the boy's cousin, the melancholy monarch said:

> My Lord of Somerset, what youth is that,
> Of whom you seem to have so tender care?

The duke replies:

> My liege, it is young Henry, earl of Richmond.

And then the king adds:

> Come hither, England's hope! If secret powers
> Suggest but truth to my divining thoughts,
> This pretty lad will prove our country's bliss.
> His looks are full of peaceful majesty;
> His head by nature framed to wear a crown,
> His hand to wield a sceptre, and himself
> Likely in time to bless a regal throne.
> Make much of him, my lords; for this is he
> Must help you more than you are hurt by me.[1]

The unadorned fact being,[2] that one day, at a great feast, when King Henry VI. was washing his hands, he cast his eyes upon the young earl, and said to his courtiers: 'This is the lad that shall possess quietly that that we now strive for.'

[1] Third part of King Henry VI. act iv. scene vi.

[2] Bacon's Moral and Historical Works, Bohn's ed. 1852, pp. 467, 478.

Henry VII., when fully established upon the throne, rich, renowned, and prosperous, recollecting this forlorn conjecture as a fulfilled prophecy, in grateful acknowledgment of the enunciator's goodwill, and intending to enhance thereby his own importance, superstitiously entreated Pope Julius II. to canonize Henry VI. as a saint; but the alleged holy acts and fancied miracles being referred to a committee of cardinals, the proposal failed of success; probably because the Pope feared to incur ridicule by rendering conspicuous honour to a known simpleton, and consequently set a higher price upon the affair than the king would consent to pay.

The queen and five of her eight children died before the king. He expired April 21, 1509. The surviving children were afterwards well known to history as Henry VIII., king of England; Margaret, queen consort of Scotland; and Mary, queen consort of France.

§ 6. For deliverance from the domination of the Pope of Rome, and for the suppression of monasteries, England and Wales stand for ever indebted to the fiercely resolute will of King Henry VIII. To him also they owe the institution of many grammar schools, which, instead of the meagre instruction previously given in the monasteries, imparted to eager and assiduous pupils the rudiments of sound scholarship.

§ 7. Dr. William Smith, bishop of Lincoln, who had been President of the Council of the Marches under Prince Arthur, continued to fill the same office until his death, which occurred January 5, 1514. His successor in the presidency was Geoffrey Blythe, bishop of Lichfield and Coventry, who likewise held the office until his death, which occurred in 1533. John Voysey, bishop of Exeter, was the next president, but he died October 23, 1534. Rowland Lee, bishop of Lichfield

CHAP. XXVI.

and Coventry, a statesman of extraordinary sagacity and perfect integrity, was Bishop Voysey's successor. Either by the sovereign's direction, or by common courtesy, each president after Prince Arthur's decease, having no superior but the king, was styled Lord President.

By means of Bishop Lee's urgent statements, and in accordance with a petition suggested by him and presented by certain Welsh landowners, the king was induced, in the year 1536, to originate and confirm a [1]statute enacting that the Principality and whole country of Wales should be for ever united to the kingdom of England and incorporated with it; that all Welshmen should enjoy equal liberty, rights, and privileges with the king's English subjects; that lands in Wales should be inheritable according to English tenures and rules of descent; and that the laws of England and no other laws should be used throughout Wales. It enacted that four new shires should be erected in Wales out of territories which had not previously been so divided, namely, the shires of Radnor, Brecknock, Montgomery, and Denbigh; and that the specified lands of the Lords Marchers, most of them being then in the king's hands, should be annexed, and united partly to certain English counties and partly to certain Welsh counties, according to vicinity and convenience. It also enacted that a county called [2]Monmouth should be constituted and should thenceforth be governed in like manner and by the same judges as the counties of England, and that it should be accounted one of them. The eight counties of Wales formed by King Edward I. and the

[1] Statutes at Large, ed. 1763, vol. ii. pp. 420–427; 27 Hen. VIII. Act xxvi.; Stephen's New Comm. ed. 1853, Introduction, § iv. pp. 82–84; Dodridge's Historical Account, ed. 1714, p. 39.

[2] Gibson's Camden's Britannia, ed. 1772, vol. i. p. 120, note c.

four new counties were each enabled, by this statute, to send one knight to represent it in the English Parliament, and every town specially mentioned in the act was likewise enabled to send one burgess, the election of such knights and burgesses being ordered to take place after the English manner.

One lamentable mistake was perpetuated by this act, and counteracted all its beneficial provisions. No doubt Bishop Lee and His Highness King Henry really did bear 'a singular real love and favour' towards his majesty's Welsh subjects, but by appointing the sole use of the English language in all judicial courts, and interdicting the enjoyment of every sort of office throughout his dominions to persons using the Cymraeg, on pain of forfeiture, unless they adopted English speech, he instituted a grievance which has been cruelly felt through many following generations.

§ 8. On St. Edward's eve, October 12, 1537, King Henry VIII.'s son and heir was born, the mother being Jane Seymour. The Principality having been legally incorporated with England, it was[1] not deemed necessary to create young Edward prince of Wales and earl of Chester, or to give him the usual investiture, both those honours devolving upon him, like the dukedom of Cornwall, as a birthright.

The change from the genealogical and descriptive style of designation in Wales to fixed and hereditary surnames is not even now, in the latter half of the nineteenth century, complete. It began in single instances with Welshmen who had become familiar with England and English habits; it was promoted by the accession of Henry VII. to the throne; but, even among those of

[1] Powel's Historie of Cambria, ed. 1584, p. 396; Dodridge's Historical Account, ed. 1714, p. 38.

CHAP. XXVI.

the highest rank, it did not become general until Rowland Lee, bishop of Lichfield and Coventry, lord president of Wales and the Marches, when calling over the panel of a jury one day became weary[1] of the repetition of the *ab*, and directed that the 'ancient worshipful gentleman' Thomas ab William ab Thomas ab Richard ab Howel ab Iefan Fychan, &c. of Mostyn, and the rest of the jury, should thenceforth severally assume as a surname either their last genealogical name, or that of their residence.

§ 9. At Bishop Lee's suggestion some further alterations were made by King Henry in the political state of the Principality, all of them being intended to establish the equality of its legal privileges with those of England, and to bring the two nations into harmonious action.

By a statute[2] passed in the year 1543, it was enacted that the twelve shires should be comprized in four circuits under four several judges, whose duty it was to administer justice in each of their three shires twice every year. The first circuit comprized Denbigh, Flint, and Montgomery, the shires of Eastern Wales, under the jurisdiction of the Justice of Chester. The northern shires, Anglesey, Caernarvon, and Merioneth, formed the second circuit under the Justice of North Wales. The shires of Cardigan, Caermarthen, and Pembroke formed the third circuit, under the Justice of West Wales. Radnor, Brecknock, and Glamorgan formed the fourth circuit under the Justice of South Wales. [3] All matters, both of law and equity, were

[1] Camden's Remains, ed. 1657, pp. 145, 146; Pennant's Tours in North Wales, ed. 1810, vol. i. pp. 17, 18.

[2] Statutes at Large, ed. 1763, vol. ii. pp. 348–360, 34 & 35 Hen. VIII. Act. xxvi.; Stephen, vol. i. Introduction, pp. 83, 84; Dodridge, pp. 39–43.

[3] Dodridge's Historical Account of the Ancient and Modern State of

heard and determined in these circuits, and every session lasted during five days; these justices having nearly the same jurisdiction that the ancient English justices in eyre or justices itinerant had had.

By the same statute King Henry VIII.[1] reconstituted the court of the Marches, erecting it by [2]statute for the Principality and its marches, under the name of the Court of the Council of Wales, continuing its seat at Ludlow under a lord president, adding to the councillors a secretary, an attorney, a solicitor, and the four justices of the Welsh counties, and reserving to himself and future sovereigns the right of regulating the number of councillors, and of choosing them, and also of assigning the causes and matters to be tried as had heretofore 'been accustomed and used.'

In each of the thirteen counties by the same statutes were severally appointed sheriffs, justices of the peace, coroners, and other local officers like those previously belonging to English counties.

Bishop Lee, lord president of Wales, died January 24, 1543.[3] His successor was Richard Sampson, bishop of Lichfield and Coventry, who died September 25, 1554. Previous to his decease, Bishop Sampson appears to have resigned the presidency, for, contrary to precedent, the government of King Edward VI. confided it to a layman, John Dudley, earl of Warwick, afterwards duke of Northumberland, who traced his maternal descent through the Charltons to the native princes of Powys. He soon resigned the office for employments better suited to his vaulting ambition.

the Principality of Wales, Dutchy of Cornwal, and Earldom of Chester ed. 1714, pp. 41-43.

[1] Hallam's Constitutional History of England, ed. 1832, vol. i. p. 448.

[2] 34 & 35 Henry VIII. c. xxvi.; Gibson's Camden's Britannia, ed. 1772, vol. i. p. 472.

[3] Powel's Historie of Cambria, pp. 389-401; Nicolas, Synopsis, vol. ii.

CHAP. XXVI.

William Herbert, afterwards earl of Pembroke, succeeded the Earl of Warwick in the presidency of Wales, and held it until Michaelmas 1554, when Nicholas Heath, bishop of Worcester, and soon afterwards archbishop of York and lord high chancellor of England, held the office for a very short period. The Earl of Pembroke then resumed the presidency, and held it until superseded by Gilbert Bourne, bishop of Bath and Wells, who retained the office until Queen Mary's death, November 17, 1558.

John lord Williams of Thame was sent to Ludlow as lord president of Wales in the first year of Queen Elizabeth's reign, and he died October 14, 1559. Sir Henry Sydney was his successor, and Sir Henry had held that office twenty-eight years and six months when Doctor Powel concluded the manuscript Historie of Cambria with an account of the repairs done by Sir Henry at Ludlow Castle and of the new buildings erected there by him. Sir Henry Sydney, in a [1] letter addressed to Sir Francis Walsingham, dated March 1, 1583, alluding to his Welsh presidency, calls it 'his great and high office in Wales, a happy place of government, for a better people to govern or better subjects Europe holdeth not.' He died at Ludlow Castle, May 5, 1586.

By an [2] act of Parliament made in Queen Elizabeth's reign, the addition of an assistant justice was given to each of the four Welsh circuits.

The river Severn having been of old the recognized boundary line of Wales, the president and council of that country and its Marches asserted [3] that the four

[1] Lemon's Calendar of State Papers, 1581–1590, p. 98.

[2] 18 Eliz. c. viii.; Dodridge, p. 43.

[3] Hallam's Constitutional History of England, ed. 1832, vol. i. p. 448,

counties of Hereford, Worcester, Gloucester, and Salop were included within the limits of their authority; and, to strengthen their claim when disputed, they alleged that those counties had been reduced from a very disorderly condition to a state of tranquillity by means of their court's jurisdiction. In the reign of Elizabeth, the inhabitants of those four counties, who were chiefly of Teutonic descent, complained of being excluded from the general privileges of the common law by means of this subjection to the Lord President and his Council. In the reign of her successor James I., the discontent increased; and the question was referred to the twelve judges, who decided that Hereford, Worcester, Gloucester, and Salop were ancient English shires formed by King Alfred, and not within the jurisdiction of the court of the Council of Wales. Nevertheless, the usurpation was not wholly discontinued, and an elaborate defence of the court's jurisdiction was written by Lord Bacon in order to uphold the arbitrary power of the sovereign.

Henry earl of Pembroke succeeded Sir Henry Sydney, and held the office of lord president until the appointment of Lord Zouch in 1601.

In 1607,[1] Ralph lord Eure, baron of Multon, was sent to Ludlow by King James I. as lord president, and also as the king's lieutenant within the Principality of Wales. His successor in both offices was William lord Compton, afterwards earl of Northampton, whose appointment bears the date of November 12, 1617. He died in 1630. John Egerton, earl of Bridgwater, appears to have entered immediately upon the duties

footnote; Pennant's Tours in North Wales, ed. 1810, vol. iii. Appendix iii. pp. 298, 299.

[1] Arch. Camb. April 1846, W. W. E. W. pp. 139–141.

CHAP. XXVI.

of both offices; but his appointment as lord president is dated May 12,[1] 1633, and that of lord lieutenant of the dominion and principality of Wales was made in 1634.

Three children of this earl[2] chanced to lose their way in a wood near Ludlow, during the period of studious retirement which Milton passed with his father and mother at Horton in Buckinghamshire, and the great poet was persuaded by his friend Henry Lawes, the eminent musical composer, to embody the incident in a drama. Milton consequently wrote the admirable Masque of Comus; Henry Lawes set the exquisite lyric verses of that masque to original music; and it was represented at Ludlow Castle in 1634, by the heroes and heroine of the story.

The court of the President and Council of Wales and the Welsh Marches[3] was abolished by the same act of Parliament which abolished the Star Chamber and other tyrannical courts, A.D. 1640–42. It was revived[4] at the restoration of Charles II.; and Richard Vaughan, earl of Carbery, was appointed lord president and lord lieutenant of Wales.

In the year 1672, Henry Somerset, marquis of Worcester, was constituted lord president, and appointed lord lieutenant of Wales and the Marches. He was created duke of Beaufort[5] December 2, 1682; and Dineley, a contemporary and apparently an admiring dependent, has left an [6]amusing record of his

[1] Rymer's Fœdera.

[2] Masson's Life of Milton, vol. i. 1608–1639; Warton's History of English Poetry; Johnson's Lives of the Poets; Milton's Poems, vol. ii.

[3] Hallam's Constitutional History of England, ed. 1832, vol. ii. pp. 134–136.

[4] Arch. Camb. April 1846, W. W. E. W.

[5] Nicolas, Synopsis, vol. i. p. 53.

[6] Account of the Progress of Henry, first duke of Beaufort, through Wales, 1684, and Notitia Cambro-Britannica, by T. Dineley, edited from

master's stately progress through Wales in the year 1684, when executing the offices of lord lieutenant and lord president.

The duke was superseded in both his Welsh dignities by Charles Gerard, earl of Macclesfield.

The court was [1] finally abolished in the year 1689; and from that time until his death, January 7, 1694,[2] Lord Macclesfield held the office of lord lieutenant of North and South Wales. The whole Principality has never since been subjected to one lord lieutenant.

§ 10. It was declared by statute [3] in the year 1746, 'that where England only is mentioned in any act of Parliament, the same, notwithstanding hath been and shall be deemed to comprehend the dominion of Wales and the town of Berwick-upon-Tweed.'

Until recent times Wales differed from England in two important particulars: [4]—1. In possessing within itself superior courts called courts of Great Session independent of the processes of Westminster Hall, and not visited by the English judges of assize, the proceedings in these courts being partly regulated by the Welsh Judicature (Act 13 Geo. III. c. 51). 2. In such of its counties and towns as sent members to Parliament sending only one member each, the usual representation of English counties and boroughs being two.

One of these differences was abolished by the Act for the More Effectual Administration of Justice (1 Wm. IV. c. 70), the jurisdiction of the court of Great

the original MS. by Charles Baker, 1864, and printed for private circulation.

[1] 1 W. & M. c. xxvii.; Gibson's Camden's Britannia, ed. 1772, vol. i. p. 472.

[2] Arch. Camb. April 1846, W. W. E. W.

[3] 20 George II. c. xlii. § 3.

[4] Stephen's New Comm. ed. 1853, vol. i. Introduction, § iv. p. 84.

CHAP. XXVI.

Session being put an end to, and assizes appointed to be held in the Principality for the trial of all matters civil, and ecclesiastical in like manner to those usual in the English counties; and the other ceased with the Act to Amend the Representation of the People (2 Wm. IV. c. 45), which arranged for the return of two members from three Welsh counties respectively, leaving each of the other Welsh counties with one.

By Acts 8 & 9 of Queen Victoria, the manner of assigning sheriffs for Wales was regulated and assimilated with that of the English counties.

§ 11. It is probable that William Caxton practised the art of printing in London about the year 1470, but the first Welsh book ever printed was a sort of calendar of quarto size, written by the learned and pious[1] William Salesbury, of Plâs Isaf, Denbighshire, and published in London in the year 1546. Besides his native Cymraeg and English, Salesbury understood the Hebrew, Chaldaic, Syriac, Arabic, Greek, Latin, French, Italian, and Spanish languages. In the year 1551, when Edward VI. reigned, Salesbury published a translation of all the epistles and gospels, made by himself for the Welsh churches.

Sir John Price of Brecknock, author of the 'Description of Wales,' member of the Council of the Court of Wales and the Marches, made a translation of the Lord's Prayer, the Creed, and the Ten Commandments, which was printed in the year 1555.[2]

In the year 1562,[3] Elizabeth being queen, an act of

[1] Williams's Enwogion Cymru, pp. 466, 467; Owen's Cambrian Biography, p. 312.

[2] Jones's History of Brecknockshire.

[3] Llewelyn's Historical Account of the British or Welsh Versions and Editions of the Bible, with an Appendix containing the Dedications prefixed to the first impressions. Ed. 1768.

Parliament ordered the translation of the whole Bible and the Book of Common Prayer into the Welsh language, directing that such translations should be viewed, perused, and allowed by the bishops of the four Welsh dioceses and by the Bishop of Hereford, and printed and brought into use in all the Welsh churches by March 1 in the year 1566, under penalties of 40*l.* each; to be severally levied on those five bishoprics.

The charge of fulfilling these enactments was left wholly to the five bishops, and the difficulty of obtaining proper remuneration for translators, and adequate funds for the printing and attendant expenses, rendered those bishops willing rather to pay the decreed fines than to incur pecuniary responsibilities of far greater amount. Nevertheless, three patriotic scholars gratuitously undertook the task of translating the New Testament from the Greek collated with the Latin Vulgate. Dr. Richard Davies, bishop of St. David's, translated the First Epistle to Timothy, the Epistle to the Hebrews, the Epistle of St. James, and the Two Epistles of St. Peter; Thomas Huet, precentor of St. David's, rector of Cefnllys, Brecknockshire, and of Disserth, Radnorshire, translated the Book of Revelation; and William Salesbury translated all the rest. This Welsh version of the New Testament contains 800 4to pages in black letter, and it was printed and published in London by Henry Denham, at the expense of Humphrey Toy, in the year 1567. The bishop prefixed to this work, an address 'to all the Welsh, especially those, within his diocese, desiring a renewal of the ancient catholic faith by the light of the Gospel of Christ.'

Dr. Richard Davies,[1] with the assistance of William

[1] Williams's Enwogion Cymru, pp. 108–110.

CHAP. XXVI.

Salesbury of Plâs Isaf, translated the reformed Book of Common Prayer into Welsh, and it was printed at their joint and equal expense in the year 1567.

These two eminent and excellent men had together undertaken to make a Welsh translation of the Old Testament, and the work was in progress, when variance of opinion concerning the general sense and etymology of a word unhappily produced an alienation of feeling which led to the abandonment of the design.

Dr. William Morgan,[1] a Caernarvonshire man, when vicar of Llanrhaiadyr yn Mochnant in Denbighshire, had occasion to visit the Archbishop of Canterbury upon some parochial business; and the Archbishop, Dr. Whitgift, finding in the course of conversation that the vicar had spontaneously engaged in the task of translating the Pentateuch from the Hebrew into Welsh, formed so favourable an estimate of his learning, ability, and character, that he advised him to extend the translation to the whole of the Old Testament, and he appointed him one of his own chaplains.

In executing his great work, Dr. Morgan found ready access to the libraries of Dr. William Hughes, bishop of St. Asaph; of Dr. Hugh Bellot, bishop of Bangor; of Dr. Gab; of Dr. David Powel, the historian; of Edmund Pryse, archdeacon of Merioneth, author of a Welsh metrical version of the Psalms; and of Richard Vaughan of Duffryn, archdeacon of Middlesex, afterwards bishop of Bangor 1595, Chester 1597, and London 1604. These erudite men and Dean Goodman aided Dr. Morgan alsoby revising and correcting his translation.

[1] Williams's Enwogion Cymru, pp. 342, 343; Yorke's Royal Tribes of Wales, Appendix i.; Nicolas, Synopsis, vol. ii.

Dr. Gabriel Goodman,[1] dean of Westminster, was born at Ruthyn in the year 1524, and owed his advancement in the world to his own remarkable merit and the friendship of Lord Burleigh. He translated into English the First Epistle to the Corinthians for the version called the Bishops' Bible, and, about the year 1590, he founded the grammar school of Ruthyn. In 1587, Dr. Goodman kindly received Dr. Morgan into the deanery at Westminster, and hospitably entertained him there for a year or more, assisting him also with advice and labour while the sacred sheets were passing through the press. This great work was printed in London, and appeared in the year 1588. It is a black letter folio, numbered by the leaves 555, and comprises in one volume the Old Testament, the Apocrypha, and a revised edition of Salesbury's New Testament. The copy presented by Dr. Morgan to the dean and chapter of Westminster remains in their library.

At the express command of Queen Elizabeth, Dr. William Morgan's eminent services to his country were acknowledged by his election to the see of Llandaff, June 30, 1595.[2] He was translated to St. Asaph, September 17, 1601, and he died there September 10, 1604.

After the lapse of a few years, the want of Bibles in Welsh churches again became a cause of loud complaint, and the learned Dr. Richard Parry,[3] bishop of St. Asaph, assisted by his chaplain, the learned Dr. John Davies, rector of Mallwyd, Merionethshire, undertook

[1] Fuller's Worthies; Williams's Enwogion Cymru, pp. 175, 176; Sir Thomas Phillips's Wales, pp. 340-342.

[2] Nicolas, Synopsis, vol. ii.

[3] Williams's Enwogion Cymru, pp. 390, 391.

CHAP. XXVI.

to make a thorough revision and correction of Bishop Morgan's Bible. The result of their diligent labours was the production of an edition in black letter folio, printed by King James's printer, Norton, in the year 1620, which continues to be the standard version of the Cymraeg Scriptures.

The number of copies comprised in these early editions has not been precisely ascertained, but it is supposed by Dr. Llewelyn scarcely to have equalled in each case the number of Welsh parochial churches.

No attempt had yet been made to supply families with the Bible; and doubtless the parish copy, chained in its church, wore out the sooner for the friction of many eager hands which turned its leaves. Many pious Welshmen keenly felt that every home ought to be enlightened and cheered by the reflected beams of the Sun of Righteousness, and they at length succeeded in interesting other good and wealthy persons in the spiritual wants of the uninformed and poor, and conferred upon their beloved country the greatest of all benefits in supplying that inestimable treasure—a household Bible.

Bishop Parry died[1] September 26, 1623; but[2] his version was republished in an 8vo. form for household use in the year 1630, the expenses being chiefly borne by Rowland Heylin, of Pentre Heylin, Montgomeryshire, alderman of London; by Sir Thomas Middleton, a Denbighshire man, alderman of London; and by some other citizens of London connected with the Principality.

In 1632, Dr. John Davies[3] published his translation of the Thirty-nine Articles. He died May 15, 1644.

[1] Nicolas, Synopsis, vol. ii.

[2] Llewelyn's Historical Account.

[3] Williams's Enwogion Cymru, pp. 105, 106.

Looking only through the biographies of the Welshmen who in Tudor times sprang from obscurity to the bright forefront of all professions, without reference to the distinguished hosts of succeeding centuries, the words of Ben[1] Jonson recur forcibly to the mind—'Remember the country has always been fruitful of loyal hearts, a very garden and seedplot of honest minds and men. What lights of learning hath Wales sent forth for your schools! What industrious students of your laws! What able ministers of your justice! Whence hath the crown in all times better servitors, more liberal of their lives and fortunes?' May many readers of this book win a place on the beadroll of Welsh worthies!

§ 12. It was a common tradition,[2] in the twelfth century, that the Snowdon range of mountains was frequented by an eagle, which, perching upon a fatal stone on every fifth recurring holyday of the Romish Church, expected to satiate its hungry rage upon the carcases of men freshly slain in battle; and the stone, by the bird's cleaning and sharpening its beak, was believed to have been almost perforated.

Under the influence of gentler and more equitable treatment than the nation ever experienced before the accession of their Henry, and under the divine power of scriptural truth, Wales has gradually become a land of peace, to which bloodshed, with heinous crime in every form, is now almost unknown.

[1] For the Honour of Wales. Works, edited by Barry Cornwall.

[2] Giraldus, Itin. book ii. c. ix.

APPENDIX.

THE following table identifies the old Cymraeg names with the English and Anglicized ones. Any student, with a map of Roman Britain before him, can easily make for himself such a table of the Roman and English 'names of antiquity' as Philemon Holland has subjoined to his translation of Camden's 'Britannia,' ed. 1637, Appendix.

Mine is derived from Camden's 'Remains,' Gibson's 'Camden's Britannia,' Pennant's 'Tours in North Wales,' 'The Cambrian Register,' Jones's 'History of Brecknockshire,' 'The Cambro-Briton,' 'The Archæologia Cambrensis,' Hartshorne's 'Salopia Antiqua,' Ab Ithel's 'Glossary to the Brut y Tywysogion,' Aneurin Owen's preface and notes to 'The Ancient Laws and Institutes of Wales,' Lewis's 'Topography of Wales,' Welsh dictionaries, guide-books, &c.

AN AID TO THE IDENTIFICATION OF PLACES MENTIONED IN THIS HISTORY.

Aber. A conflux; a village in North Wales.
Aberdaucleddau. Milford Haven.
Abergwaun. Fishguard.
Aberhonddu. Brecknock.
Aberllwchwr. A district of Gower.
Abertawe. Swansea.
Aberteifi. Caerdigan.
Amwythig. Salop.
Arberth. Narberth; so called in English from blending part of the preposition *yn* with the true name, which signifies above the thicket.
Arduduy. The overflowed land.

Bachrhyd. The Little Ford; Boughrood.

Bala. A place where a river emerges from a lake.
Buallt. A land of boscage.
Bryn Buga. Usk.
Bryneich. Bernicia.
Bód Wylim. William's Home.
Bryn y Pin. A lofty and rocky eminence, now called Pen y Parc. It is in North Wales.

Caer. A stronghold on an eminence encompassed with agger and trench.
Caer Baddon. Bath.
Caer Caradog. Salisbury. *Caer Caradog* is also the name of a stronghold in Fferlega, where Caradog fought his last battle with Ostorius.
Caer Ci. Chichester.
Caer Colwyn. Harlech Castle:
Caer Cori. Cirencester.
Caer Cynan. Norwich.
Caer Efrog. York.
Caer Ffawydd; called also Tre Fawydd, and Hênfordd—Hereford.
Caer Fyrddin. Caermarthen.
Caer Gaint. Canterbury.
Caer Gwrle. Hope; also called Hopedale. It is now known to the Welsh as Estyn.
Caer Lleon ar Dyfrdwy. Chester.
Caer Lleon. Carlisle.
Caer Lleon ar Wysg. Caerleon.
Caer Loew. Gloucester.
Caer Odor. Bristol.
Caer Waun. Chirk Castle; called also Castell y Waun and Mochnant.
Caer Went. Striguil; also called Chepstow.
Caer Wyrangon. Worcester.
Caer Wysg. Exeter.
Cantref y Barwn, included three cwmwds, of which two are now in Merionethshire, and one is in Denbighshire. This cantref formed the northern part of the kingdom of Powys. The cwmwds are Edeyrnion, Glyndwrdu, and Dynmael.
Cantref Penwedig is in Ceridigion.
Caron Uwch Clawydd. Ystrad Flûr; also called Strata Florida.
Castell Cymaron, near *Llandewi Ystradenny*
Castell Goch yn Gernfor. Ruthyn.
Castell Lleon. Holt.
Castell Penwedig; called also Castell Gwalter and Caer Brynhîr.
Castell Tre 'r Llyn. Welshpool.
Ceubalfa. A ferry; now called Cabalva. It is between Clyro and Hay.
Cil Gwri. The Wirral, being the peninsula between the estuaries of the rivers Dee and Mersey.
Cil Owen. A plain near Llan-Elwy.
Craig Caerau. Cruker Castle; now called Old Radnor.
Creigiau 'r Eira, or *Eryri.* Snowdonia.
Cas Newydd. Newport in Gwent.
Colunwy. Clun.
Croesfordd. Gresford.
Croes Oswalt. Oswestry.
Cydweli; so called from *Cyd*, a junction, and *wyl*, a gushing. The town stands upon the conflux of the rivers Gwendraeth Fawr and Fychan.
Cynsyllt or *Counsyllt*, is Coleshill, near Coed Eulo, and near Flint.

Deheubarth. The land lying to one's right or south hand: South Wales. Dyfed is an abbreviated form of this word. The term Deheubarth is used by the oldest British writers to designate Wales, the term being applied with reference to Y Gogledd of Lowland Alban and northern England.

Dinan; more recently called Llystwysiog and Llwydlo, Ludlow.

Dinas Brân. Crow Castle. This was a chief castle of Powys Maelor, and belonged to Prince Gruffydd ab Madog. The strongholds which bear respectively the name of Dinas have level terraces, which the Caers have not.

Dinbych y Piscoed. Tenby.

Dindryfan. Dunraven.

Dôl. A Holm; that is to say, an island formed by a river.

Dwrinwyr. Dorchester.

Dyfed. South Wales; and, in subsequent years, that district of S. Wales now known as Pembrokeshire and Caermarthenshire.

Eithin Fynydd. The Furze Mountain.

Elfel. A cantref in the southern part of Radnorshire.

Ellennith. Maeleinydd, the Plinlimmon range of mountains.

Ergengl. Urchenfield.

Esgyr. A place suitable for ploughing; corrupted into Screen, perhaps into Scoigir.

Essylwg. Siluria.

Fferlys; also called Fferlegs, or Fferregs: the district lying between Severn and Wye was so called from the departure of the Romans until late in the middle ages.

Glanawg; called also Ynys Lenarch and Ynys Seiriol—Priest Holm.

Glyndŵrdwy. The valley of the Dee.

Gwent Llug, i.e. Open Gwent.

Gŵrscam. Wrexham.

Gwyddgrug. Mold, Monthaut.

Gwrthrynion, one of the three cwmwds of Arwystli, a cantref of Merioneth, attached by King Henry VIII. (stat. xxvii.) to his new counties of Radnor and Montgomery. Arwystli had three cwmwds — Cwmwd Uwchoed, Cwmwd Iscoed, and Gwrthrynion; *gwrth* meaning by, or over-against; and *rhynion*, promontories.

Gwys. A place in Cantref Cemaes in Dyfed.

Gwys. The castle of the Sons of Uchred in Cantref Mawr, in Caerfyrddin.

Llanandras. Presteign.

Llan Lleifiad. Liverpool.

Llan Llieni. Leominster.

[1] *Llantoni Abbey*, in Gwent, was founded by Normans, A.D. 1103, and the church was consecrated A.D. 1108, Augustinian canons being brought from Merton, from Trinity at Aldgate, and

[1] The Catalogue of British History, Rolls Com. vol. ii. p. 196, A.D. 1136, on 'Historia Prioratus Lanthoniæ in Comitatu Gloucestriæ.'

from Colchester, to instruct those at Llantoni. The establishment removed to Hereford during the troubles which followed the death of King Henry I., and thence to Gloucester, where the church of another Llantoni Abbey was dedicated in the year 1136.

Llanfendigaid. The resort of the Blessed.

Manaw. The Isle of Man.

Maeleinydd. A cantref in the northern part of Radnorshire, extending into Montgomeryshire, and giving its name to the mountain range of Plinlimmon.

Maelor. Broomfield.

Manor Byr. The manor of the lord.

Mold. Monthaut.

Rhôsfair. Newborough, in Anglesey.

Ruichom. The Isle of Thanet.

Tafolwern, in Cyfeiliog. Walwern.

Trefdraeth. Newport, in Caerdiganshire.

Tegeingl, called in Doom's Day Book Aticross, and subsequently Englefield.

Tregelli. Hay.

Tref y Clawydd. Knighton.

Treffynon. Holywell.

Tre 'r Llyn. Welsh Pool: this was the chief castle or palace in Powys, and belonged to Gwenwynwyn and his successors.

Tre Tŵr, in Brycheiniog.

Tyganwy. The dwelling, or homestead, on the Conwy.

Penard Lâg, or *Halawg*; called also Pen y Llwch. Hawarden.

Ystradwy, comprised part of the present hundred of Talgarth and the hundred of Crûg Howel, and generally was meant to include the vale of the river Usk. Ystradwy, and Ewias which extends into Herefordshire, are styled by an old writer 'The two sleeves of Gwent-Uchwed.

LAND MEASURES.

4 *Erws*	= 1 Tyddin.
4 *Tyddin* . . .	= 1 Rhandir—district.
4 *Rhandir* . . .	= 1 Gafel—bailiwick.
4 *Gafels* . . .	= 1 Tref—township.
4 *Trefs* . . .	= 1 Maenol—manor.
12 *Maenols* and 2 *Trefs* .	= 1 Cwmwd—association.
2 *Cwmwds* . . .	= 1 Cantref—ten townships.

25,600 Erws in the cantref.

DEGREES OF MEN.

Arglwydd . . = Lord.
Boneddig . . . = Lineage; signifying a Cymro with a good pedigree.
Alltud . . . = A foreigner.
Aillt . . . = An alien.

GLOSSARY OF WELSH WORDS.

Ab, corruptly or euphonically called Ap, is from Mab, a son, and signifies, when placed between proper names, 'the son of.'
Aber. A conflux.
Am. About, around.
Ar. Bordering upon.
Aran. A high, smooth mountain.
Alt. A cliff.
Afon. A river.

Bach. Little.
Bêdd. A grave.
Bettws. A chapel.
Blaen. A projecting point.
Bôd. An abode.
Braich. An arm.
Bryn. A hill.
Bwlch. A rocky defile.
Bron. A breast, or slope, of a hill.
Bychan. Small.

Cader. A chair; a hill fortress.
Cae. An enclosed field.
Caer. A fortress.
Capel. A chapel.
Carn. A heap.
Carnedd. A heap of stones, either artificially or naturally accumulated.
Carreg. A rock.
Castell. A castle.
Cefn. A ridge.
Cell. A cell, or grove.
Clas. A space; a plot of ground.
Clawdd. A dyke.
Cistfaen. A stone chest for the dead.
Clogwyn. A precipice.
Coed. A wood.
Côch. Red.
Cors. A marsh, or bog.
Craig. A crag.
Cil. A retreat, or recess.
Croes. A cross.
Cwm. A hollow glen.

Dinas. A fortress having terraces.
Dôl. A holm.
Drws. A pass; a doorway.
Dû. Black.
Dwfr, or *Dwr*. Water.
Dyffryn. A valley.

Eglwys. A church.

Ffynon. A spring of water.
Ffordd. A road.

Garth. A hill which bends round.
Glan. A river's bank.

Glâs. Green.
Glyn. A narrow valley through which runs a river.
Gwern. A swampy meadow.
Gwŷdd. A wood.
Gwastad. A level, or plain.
Gwyn. White, fair.
Gwŷs. A summons.

Llafar. The Sonorous.
Llanerch. A slang, or slip, of level ground.
Llan. A sacred and enclosed spot of ground.
Llwyn. A grove.
Llech. A flat, or flagstone.
Llechwedd. A declivity.
Llyn. A lake.

Morfa. A salt-water marsh.
Maen. A stone.
Maes. An open field.
Mawr. Great, or large.
Melen. Yellow.
Melin. A mill.
Minffordd. A road side.
Mocl. A smooth, conical hill.
Mynydd. A mountain.

Nant. A channel; a ravine.

Pant. A concave place.
Pentref. A cluster of dwellings without a church; a hamlet.
Pendrêj. Head of the trench; a place usually situated on the site of a Roman camp.
Pen. A head.
Pistyll. A spout; a spouting cataract.
Plâs. A place; a superior place of residence.
Pont. A bridge.
Porth. A gateway.
Pwll. A deep pool.

Rhaiadyr. A broad cataract.
Rhiw. A trackway over a mountain.
Rhôs A moist common.
Rhyd. A ford.

Sarn. A causeway.
Swydd. A shire.

Tal. The forehead or front.
Tan. Under.
Traeth. A sandy shore
Tref. A dwelling-place.
Tri. Three.
Twyn. A mound.
Twr. A tower.
Ty. A house.

Y. The, on the, of
Ym. My.
Yn. In, at, into.
Ynys. An island.
Ystrad. A vale; a road
Yspytty. A hospital.

INDEX.

ANC

ANCIENT BRITISH SAINTS:
Eigen, or Eurgain, 41, 42
Cyllin, 42
Alban of Verulam, 53
Julius and Aaron of Caerleon upon Usk, 53

ANCIENT BRITISH SOVEREIGNS:
Caswallawn, (Cassibelaunus), 18
Caradog (Caractacus), 18, 19, 20, 21, 22, 23, 24, 25, 26, 29
Cogidunus, 21, 33, 34, 39, 67
Prasutagus, 21, 22
Aregwedd Foeddawg (Cartismandua), 22, 25, 27, 28
Venutius, 22, 27, 28, 31, 35
Bran ab Llyr, 29, 30
Buddig (Boadicea), 33
Leurwg, or Lleufr Mawr (Lucius), 44
The local kings in Britain, 49, 50, 64

BARDS: of Ancient Britain, 6, 64, 65
Merlin, 79, 105, 256, 417, 446
Llywarch Hên, 81, 87, 92, 93
Aneurin, 87
Taliessin, 87, 92, 105
Bards flee from the Saxon invadors, 95
Cadwallawn, 105
His defeat and death deplored by his bardic brethren, 107
Duties of the Bardd Teulu defined by the laws of Howel Dda, 144, 145
Bards and minstrels assemble in Eisteddfod at Caerwys, 202
Enactments of Gruffydd ab Cynan concerning them, 202, 203
Bards and minstrels assemble in Eisteddfod at Aberteifi, 208

BRI

BARDS, *continued*—
Revival of Druidical tenets among the Bards of the twelfth century, 225, 226
Cynddelw, 226, 265
Bards and minstrels assemble in Eisteddfod at Ystrad Towy, 232
Meilyr, 233
Gwalchmai, 253, 262, 265
Bardic influence, 256, 257
Howel ab Owen Gwynedd, a bard, 256, 264
Owen Cyfeiliog, a bard, 257, 258
Peryf ab Cadifor, 264, 265
Bardic eulogy, 265
Llywarch ab Llewelyn, 269, 336
Einion ab Gwgan, 336
Dafydd Benfras, 336, 417
Elidwr Sais, 336
Phylip Brydydd, 336
Bleddyn Fardd, 417
Gruffydd ab yr Ynad Coch, 417
Iolo Goch, 436, 438
Gruffydd Llwyd, 438
Other bards, 438, 446
Bardic genealogists and heralds, 469, 470

BRITAIN: its aboriginal state, 1–16
Its condition under the proprætors of the Roman emperors until the reign of Diocletian, 17–47
Its prosperity under Carausius, 47–52
Its government under Constantine the Great, 55, 56
Its state when Honorius resigned the island, 64–66
And later in the fifth century, 67–79
Its state in the seventh century, 109
The state of Cymric Britain in the eleventh century, 193, 194
In the twelfth century, 227, 228

BRI

British Ecclesiastics, more especially those of the Cymry:
Eborius (Efrog) Restitutus (Rhysted), 57
Adelfius (Cadfrawd), 57
Bishops sent to Nice, 57
Bishops sent to Ariminum, 57
Their number in the fifth century, 65
Pelagius, 70
Deputation to Armorica, 70
Garmon and Severus, 71
Tudwal, Cynan, Gistilianus, Pawl Hên, &c., 73, 75
Padrig ab Mawon, 73
Trefor (Tremorinus), 74
Cattwg, 74
Dyfrig (Dubricius), 73, 74, 80, 82, 83
Dewi (David), 75, 76, 82, 83, 84, 90, 91
His leek, 106
His shrine, 188, 266, 267, 423
His canonization, 225, 342
Padarn, 81, 82
Dunawd, 86, 100, 101
Gildas, 89, 90
Cynog, 91
Teilo, 91, 111
Ismael, 91
Deiniol ab Dunawd, 91
Cydern, surnamed Mwyngu, called also Kentigern, 91, 93
Asaf ab Sawl, 93
British clergy described by Gildas, 89, 90
Their flight from the Saxons, 95
Bishops massacred, 95
Cymric prelates and clergy confer with Augustine, 99–101
Celebration of Easter, 102, 114
Mode of tonsure, 102
Mode of baptism, 102
Elfod, 114, 117
Asser, otherwise called Geraint Bardd Glâs, 127, 128
Camelauc, 134
Madog Nun, 164
Gruffydd, 218
Bledri Ddoeth, 165
Gwgan, 165
Joseph, 165
Tremorin, 176
Nicholas ab Gwrgant, 177
Sulien Ddoeth, 184, 185, 188, 190, 227
Abraham, 185, 188
Rythmarch, 201, 227
Gruffydd, 218

CYM

British Ecclesiastics, *continued*—
Daniel, 227
Maurice, 236
Uchtryd, 236
Geoffrey of Monmouth, 244
Urgenny, 262
Llawdden, 262

Chieftains celebrated in Cymric Warfare, or otherwise:
Geraint (Gerontius), 66, 68
Cunedda Wledig, 68, 69
Caswallawn ab Einion ab Cunedda, 69
Serigi, an Irish invader of Cymru, 69
Tewdrig, king of Morganwg, 69
Meurig, king of Morganwg, 69, 73, 78
Brychan, an Irish prince, marries Marchell, daughter of Tewdrig, his character and progeny, 69, 70
Iestyn ab Gwrgant, 191–193
Bleddyn ab Maenarch, 193
Morgan of Caerleon, 230
Iorwerth of Caerleon, 230, 266, 267, 268, 270, 271
Seissyll ab Dyfnwal, 271, 275, 278
Trahaern Fychan, 297, 298
Changes in the designation of the Welsh rulers, 234
Changes in the ownership of land, 234, 235
Change from the genealogical and descriptive style of personal and family designation to fixed and hereditary surnames, 483
Christianity: its first introduction to Britain, 29, 30
Its early converts there, 41, 42–44
Its martyrs, 53
Heretics persecuted by Maximus, 61
State of Christianity in the fifth century, 70–76
State of Christianity in the sixth century, 81–92
Its suppression, and the slaughter of its ministers by the Saxons, 95, 96
Mission of Augustine, 98–102
State of British Christianity in the twelfth century, 226
And generally in the Middle Ages, 308
Cymraeg Literature, in the twelfth century, 244, 245
Cymraeg Versions of the Scriptures, 95, 96, 490–494

CYMRIC CATHEDRALS AND COMMUNITIES, 71–81, 85, 86, 100, 101
Glastonbury, 111.
Rival claims of St. David's and Llandaff to primacy, precedency, and property, 111, 112, 228, 241, 242, 302
First appointment of a Norman bishop to the see of St. David's, and the object of that appointment, 218
Merfyn, abbot of Ty Gwyn, 241
The Norman bishop Bernard's reassertion of the rights of the diocese of St. David's, 241, 242
Temporary expulsion of foreigners from the Cymric sees, 235
Bishop Bernard's suit carried on by Giraldus Cambrensis, 302
Archbishop Baldwin, while preaching the second crusade, enforces the metropolitan claims of Canterbury, 277–288
Archbishop John Peckham visits the Welsh dioceses, and arranges the ecclesiastical affairs of the country, 422
CYMRIC KINGS WHO DEFENDED THEIR COUNTRY AGAINST THE TEUTONIC TRIBES:
Gwrtheyrn Gwrthenau (Vortigern), 76, 77
Vortimer, 77
Emrys Wledig (Aurelius Ambrosius), 78, 79, 80
Arthur, 78, 79, 80, 81, 84, 85
His sepulchre, 291, 292
Geraint ab Erbyn, 81
Caradog Fraichfras, 86
Urien Rheged, 86, 87
Constantine ab Cadwr, 87
Maelgwn Gwynedd, 87, 88, 89
Constantine of Damnonia, 89
Aurelius Conanus, 89
Vortiper, 89
Rhun ab Maelgwn, 103
Cadfan ab Iago, 103, 104
Cadwallawn ab Cadfan, 104, 105, 106, 107, 109
Cadwaladyr ab Cadwallawn, 109, 110

DRUIDS, 4–10
Their dress, 13, 14
Their influence, 31, 32
Their remarkable prediction, 35, 36
Early converts to Christianity, 42
Their power curtailed by the Romans, 64, 65

DRUIDS, *continued*—
Revival of their tenets in the twelfth century, 225, 226
Their practice of publicly cursing enemies kept up until the reign of Henry VII., 479

ECCLESIASTICAL ESTABLISHMENTS FOUNDED AND APPROPRIATED BY THE NORMANS IN WALES, 205–207, 218–219
Expulsion of Normans from the Cymric sees, 235
Subjection of the Cymric church to the see of Canterbury, 277–288, 422
EPISODES OF WELSH HISTORY:
The young Cymro of Counsyllt, 249, 260
A legend of Llynsafaddan, 223, 224
The story of David Gam, 457, 458

FLEMINGS: a colony of them planted by King Henry I. in the district of Rhos in South-western Wales, 207–208
William of Brabant their bishop, 212
Attacked by Gruffydd ab Rhys, 220, 221
Fight under the command of Gerald de Windsor, 222
Fight under the command of Stephen, constable of Aberteifi, 231
Subdued by the combined Welsh princes, 235
Worsted by the sons of Gruffydd ab Rhys, 239
Surprised by them, 245
A second colony of Flemings sent into Dyfed by Henry II., 246, 247
The Flemings of Rhos ravage Iscoed and Ceredigion, 260
Castles taken from the Flemings, 293
The Flemings propose peace to Llewelyn ab Iorwerth, 313
Fight against Owen Glyndwrdu, 442
FRANCE: Owen Gwynedd treats with Louis VII., 259, 260
Cymric exiles, 421
Iefan of Wales fights in the French wars against England, 434
Owen Glyndwrdu treats with Charles VI., 449, 459
And is assisted by French troops, 451–454
Catherine, daughter of Charles VI., and widow of Henry V., marries Owen Tewdwr, 459, 460

GER

Gerald de Windsor seneschal of Arnulph de Montgomery, and afterwards president of Dyfed under king Henry I., 195, 207–209, 219, 222, 223, 232
His wife Nest, 208, 209, 214, 222, 242, 260, 262
Their sons, 239
David, bishop of St. David's, 242, 266, 271, 273, 274
Giraldus Cambrensis:
His legend of Llysafaddan, 223, 224
His parentage and education, 271
His actions, 272–274
His election to the bishopric of St. David's, 274, 275
His administration of the affairs of the see, 277
Appointed preceptor to Prince John, 279
His attendance upon Archbishop Baldwin and Itinerary, 279–288
His account of the Welsh people, 288–291
He goes to Normandy with Henry II., 292
Is appointed by Richard I. a coadjutor in the regency of England, 292
His second election to the bishopric of St. David's, renunciation of his claim, resignation of his archdeaconry, retirement, and death, 301, 302

Heraldic Bearings of the Welsh sovereigns, 469–473

Insurgent Chieftains against the Plantagenet Princes of Wales:
Rhys ab Maredudd, lord of Ystrad Towy, 423–425, 433
Madog ab Maredudd, of Gwynedd, 425, 426, 427
Maelgwn Fychan, of Deheubarth, 426
Morgan, of Morganwg, 426, 427
Many others, 428
Llewelyn Bren, 427–430
Sir Gruffydd Llwyd, 430, 431
Iefan de Galles, 434
Owen Glyndwrdu, 435–457

Kings of England:
Egbert, 117, 119, 120
Ethelwulf, 120, 121, 122
Ethelbert, 122
Ethelred, 122

KIN

Kings of England, *continued*—
Alfred the Great, 122, 126, 127, 128, 129, 130
Edward, 130, 132, 133, 134, 135
Athelstan, 135, 150
Edmund, 151, 152
Edred, 152, 154
Edwy, 154
Edgar, 155, 157, 158
Edward, 158
Ethelred, 158, 162, 163
Sweyn, 162
Canute, 162, 163, 166
Edmund Ironside, 163
Harold, 166, 168
Hardicanute, 168, 169
Edward, 169, 172, 173, 174, 175, 176, 177, 178, 179, 180, 182
Harold, son of Godwin, 173, 175, 176, 177, 178, 179, 180, 181, 182
William of Normandy, 182, 183, 185, 188, 189, 190
William Rufus, 190, 193, 196, 197, 198, 201
Henry I., 201, 203, 204, 206, 207, 209, 211, 212, 214, 216, 217, 218, 219, 220, 221, 222, 223, 224, 225, 228, 229
Stephen, 229, 236, 246
Matilda, 236, 237, 246
Henry II., 246, 247, 248, 249, 250, 251, 253, 254, 255, 257, 258, 259, 261, 265, 266, 267, 268, 270, 271, 274, 275, 278, 280, 285, 292
Richard I., 291, 299
John, 279, 299, 301, 303, 304, 305, 306, 307, 308, 309, 310, 311, 312
Henry III., 313, 315, 317, 319, 320, 321, 322, 323, 324, 325, 326, 327, 328, 329, 330, 331, 332, 333, 334, 335, 338, 339, 340, 341, 342, 343, 344, 345, 346, 347, 350, 353, 354, 355, 357, 358, 363, 364, 365, 366, 367, 368, 370, 371, 372, 373, 378, 379, 380, 381, 382, 383, 384, 385, 386, 387, 389
Edward I., 357, 359, 360, 361, 362, 364, 365, 376, 377, 379, 380, 381, 382, 383, 385, 387
His accession to the throne, 389
Subsequent actions, 390, 391, 393, 395, 396, 397, 399, 400, 401, 402, 403, 404, 405, 406, 407, 408, 409, 410, 411, 412, 413, 414, 415, 416, 418–422
Bears from the Tower of London to Westminster Abbey the most precious heirlooms of the Welsh kings, 423

KINGS OF ENGLAND, *continued*—
Represses Welsh insurgents, 424–427
Confers upon his eldest surviving son the Principality of Wales and the earldom of Chester, 427, 428
Dies, 428
Edward II., 421, 422, 427, 428
His accession to the throne, 428
Events of his reign, 429, 430
Deposed, 431
Edward III., 431
Creates his eldest son prince of Wales, 432, 433
Authorizes his grandson, Richard of Bourdeaux, to open parliament as his deputy by the title of prince of Wales, 433
His death, 433
Richard II., 433
Causes the earldom of Chester to be united inalienably to the Principality of Wales, 433
His deposition, 437
Henry IV., creates his eldest son prince of Wales, 437
Confiscates the estates of Owen Glyndwrdu, 439
On his eldest son's petition offers pardon to the Welsh insurgents, 440, 441
His repressive ordinances, 441
His son pillages Owen's homestead, 443
The king resolves to invade Wales, 444
Appoints his son lieutenant of Wales, 446
Issues proclamations, 447
Encamps near Shrewsbury, issues writs, &c., 448, 449
Military proceedings against the Welsh, &c., 450–456
Henry V., 456–458
Henry VI., 459
He creates his only child prince of Wales, 460
Death of the Prince of Wales, 461
Murder of the king, 461
Edward IV.: he creates his eldest son prince of Wales, 462
Establishes the court of the President and Council of Wales at Ludlow, 462, 463
Edward V., 463, 464
Richard III., 461, 463
He creates his only child prince of Wales, 464
The prince's death, 464
Other incidents, 465–468, 469
Henry VII., his ancestry, 459–461

KINGS OF ENGLAND, *continued*—
Saved by the Earl of Pembroke from Richard III., 461, 462
The crown secured to him, 464
Incidents preceding his accession, 465–468
His reign, 475–478
Creates his eldest son prince of Wales, 478, 479
The prince's marriage and death, 479
The king creates his son Henry prince of Wales, 479
Prediction of Henry VII.'s reign, 480
His death, 481
Henry VIII., 481
Statutes passed by him concerning Wales, 482–485
The Principality of Wales and earldom of Chester devolve upon Edward his only son, 483
Edward VI., 490
Elizabeth, 472, 490, 493

LAW COURT of the President and Council of the Marches of Wales, substituted by Edward IV. for the office of warden, 462, 463
The same court continued by Henry VII., 479
Reconstituted and established by parliament under Henry VIII., 485
Its abolition, 488
Its revival, 488
Final abolition, 488, 489
Presidents of this court, 462, 479, 481, 482, 485, 486–489
LAW COURTS established by the Normans in Wales, 205, 206
Rhys ab Gruffydd accepts from Henry II. the office of justiciary of South Wales, 268
Llewelyn ab Iorwerth accepts from Henry III. the office of bailiff of the castles of Caermarthen and Caerdigan, engaging to hold law courts there, and to administer English law to the English population, and Welsh law to the Welsh, 315
LAWS: of Howel Dda, 136–150
Modifications made in the laws of Howel Dda by Bleddyn ab Cynfin, 182–183
By Gruffydd ab Cynan, 202, 203
Inquisition by order of Edward I. into the laws and customs formerly used in Wales, and his decision that they should be observed, 405

LAW

Laws, *continued*—
The statutes of Rhuddlan, 418, 419
Unjust and oppressive laws passed by Henry IV. and Henry V., 439, 440, 456, 477
Laws relating to Wales passed by Henry VIII., 482–485
By Queen Elizabeth, 486
By George II., 489
By George III., 489
By William IV., 489
By Queen Victoria, 489

Norman Noblemen who conquered districts of Wales in the 11th century:
Hugh d'Avranches, earl of Chester, 187
Robert Fitzhamon, earl of Gloucester, 191, 192, 201
Bernard Newmarch, 193
Arnulph de Montgomery, 194, 203, 207
Roger de Montgomery, earl of Shrewsbury, 194, 195
William Fitz Baldwin, 196, 197

Paramount and Provincial Kings of Cymrû of Cunedda's Race:
Rhodri Maelwynog, 112, 113, 114
Cynan Tindaethwy, 114, 115, 116, 117, 118
Howel ab Rhodri Maelwynog, 114, 117, 118
Merfyn of Powys, husband of Essyllt ferch Cynan Tindaethwy, 119, 120, 121
Rhodri Mawr ab Merfyn and Essyllt, 121, 122, 123, 124, 125
Anarawd ab Rhodri Mawr, 124, 125, 126, 127, 128, 130, 131
Cadell ab Rhodri Mawr, 124, 128, 130, 131
Merfyn ab Rhodri Mawr, 124, 130
Tudwal ab Rhodri Mawr, 125
Idwal Foel ab Anarawd, 132, 133, 134, 151
Elised ab Anarawd, 151
Anarawd ab Gwriad ab Rhodri Mawr, 154
Meurig ab Idwal Foel, 151, 153, 156
Iefan ab Idwal Foel, 151, 153, 156
Iago ab Idwal Foel, 151, 153, 155, 156, 157, 158, 159
Cynan ab Idwal Foel, 151
Idwal ab Idwal Foel, 151
Rhodri ab Idwal Foel, 151
Idwal ab Meurig, 160, 161, 162

PAR

Paramount and Provincial Kings of Cunedda's Race, *continued*—
Ionfal ab Meurig, 156, 160
Howel Drwg ab Iefan, 156, 157, 158, 159, 160
Cadwallawn ab Iefan, 160
Meurig ab Iefan, 156, 160
Cystennin Ddu ab Iago, 161
Cynan ab Howel Ddrwg, 162
Iago ab Idwal ab Meurig, 162, 164, 166
Cynan ab Iago ab Idwal, 166, 168, 169, 171, 172
Cynan ab Anarawd ab Rhodri Mawr, 151
Trawst ferch Anarawd ab Rhodri Mawr and wife of Seissyll, 151
Llewelyn ab Seissyll, 162, 163, 164, 166, 171, 173
Cynan ab Seissyll, 165
His sons, 165
Gruffydd ab Llewelyn ab Seissyl, 166, 167, 168, 169, 170, 171, 172, 173, 174, 175, 176, 177, 178, 179
Rhys ab Llewelyn ab Seissyll, 169, 173
Maredudd ab Gruffydd ab Llewellyn ab Seissyll, 182
Ithel ab Gruffydd ab Llewelyn ab Seissyll, 182
Gruffydd ab Cynan, 186, 187, 194, 195, 196, 197, 198, 199, 201, 202, 203, 216, 217, 219, 224, 226, 227, 230, 231, 232, 233
Cadwallawn ab Gruffydd ab Cynan, 226, 227, 228
Owen Gwynedd ab Gruffydd ab Cynan, 226, 231, 234, 235, 237, 238, 240, 242, 243, 244, 246, 247, 248, 249, 250, 251, 257, 259, 260, 261, 262, 286, 287
Cadwaladyr ab Gruffydd ab Cynan, 231, 235, 237, 238, 241, 242, 243, 244, 247, 251, 253, 257, 261, 286
Maredudd ab Gruffydd ab Cynan, 237
Cunedda ab Cadwallawn ab Gruffydd ab Cynan, 244
Maelgwn ab Cadwallawn, 281
Cadwgan ab Cadwaladyr ab Gruffydd ab Cynan, 243
Cynric ab Owen Gwynedd, 236, 237
Howel ab Owen Gwynedd, 237, 238, 240, 241, 243, 244, 245, 253, 256, 257, 263, 264, 265
Maelgwn ab Owen Gwynedd, 276
Cynan ab Owen Gwynedd, 238, 241, 242, 248, 253, 257, 262, 276, 286
His sons, 342
Rhun ab Owen Gwynedd, 240

PAR

PARAMOUNT AND PROVINCIAL KINGS OF CUNEDDA'S RACE, *continued*—
Dafydd ab Owen Gwynedd, 248, 257, 264, 265, 269, 270, 275, 276, 293, 294, 297, 302, 303
Llewelyn ab Owen Gwynedd, 260
Rhodri ab Owen Gwynedd, 269, 276, 286, 293, 294, 295, 296
Madog ab Owen Gwynedd, 269, 276
Gruffydd ab Cynan ab Owen Gwynedd, 285, 293, 294
Llewelyn ab Iorwerth, 263, 293, 294, 300, 301, 302, 303, 304, 305, 306, 307, 309, 311, 312, 313, 314, 315, 316, 317, 318, 319, 320, 321, 323, 324, 325, 326, 327, 328, 329, 331, 333, 334, 335, 336, 337, 340, 356, 364
Gruffydd ab Llewelyn ab Iorwerth, 318, 334, 337, 338, 339, 340, 341, 342, 343, 354, 356
Dafydd ab Llewelyn ab Iorwerth, 324, 334, 335, 337, 338, 339, 340, 341, 343, 344, 345, 346, 347, 348, 352, 350, 351, 356
Owen ab Gruffydd ab Llewelyn ab Iorwerth, 338, 339, 341, 342, 343, 351, 352, 355, 357, 400, 401
Rhodri ab Gruffydd ab Llewelyn ab Iorwerth, 339, 367, 400
Llewelyn ab Gruffyd ab Llewelyn ab Iorwerth, 352, 355, 357, 358, 359, 360, 361, 362, 364, 365, 366, 367, 369, 370, 371, 372, 373, 375, 376, 377, 378, 379, 380, 381, 382, 383, 384, 385, 386, 387, 388, 389, 390, 391, 392, 393, 394, 396, 397, 398, 399, 400, 401, 402, 403, 404, 405, 406, 409, 410, 411, 412, 413, 414, 415, 416, 417
His daughters, 434, 435
Dafydd ab Gruffydd ab Llewelyn ab Iorwerth, 339, 356, 357, 367, 369, 370, 386, 391, 392, 393, 394, 400, 401, 402, 405, 406, 407, 409, 412, 413, 415, 418, 420, 421
His daughters, 420, 435
Howel Dda ab Cadell, 132, 133, 134, 135, 136
His laws, 136–150
His death, 152
His sons, 153, 154, 155
Clydawg ab Cadell, 134, 135
Meurig ab Cadell, 135, 150
Hennyrth ab Clydawg, 150
Owen ab Howel Dda, 153, 154, 558
Rhun ab Howel Dda, 153
Rhodri ab Howel Dda, 153, 154
Edwyn ab Howel Dda, 153, 154

PAR

PARAMOUNT AND PROVINCIAL KINGS OF CUNEDDA'S RACE, *continued*—
Eineon ab Owen ab Howel Dda, 156, 158, 159, 160
Maredudd ab Owen ab Howel Dda, 160, 161, 162
Llywarch ab Owen ab Howel Dda, 160
Edwyn ab Eineon ab Owen ab Howel Dda, 160, 161, 164
Tewdwr ab Eineon ab Owen ab Howel Dda, 160, 161, 186
Angharad ferch Maredudd ab Owen, wife of Llewellyn ab Seissyll, 162
And secondly of Cynfyn ab Gwerystan, 171
Howel ab Edwyn ab Eineon ab Owen ab Howel Dda, 164, 165, 166, 167, 169
Maredudd ab Edwyn ab Eineon ab Owen ab Howel Dda, 164, 165, 167, 181, 184
Rhys ab Owen ab Edwyn ab Eineon ab Howel Dda, 185, 186
Howel ab Owen ab Eineon ab Howel Dda, 186
Rhydderch ab Iestin ab Owen ab Howel Dda, 165, 169, 170, 174, 177
Gruffydd ab Rhydderch ab Iestin, 169, 170, 174
Rhys ab Rhydderch ab Iestin, 169, 170, 174
Meurig ab Howel, 177
Caradog ab Gruffydd ab Rhydderch, 177, 178, 179, 181, 184
Rhydderch ab Caradog ab Gruffydd, 184, 185, 186, 187
Caradog ab Caradog, 186
Trahaern ab Caradog, 185, 186, 187
Llywarch ab Trahaern ab Caradog, 209, 213, 228
Gwladys ferch Llywarch ab Trahaern, wife of Owen Gwynedd and mother of Iorwerth ab Owen, 263
Cynfyn, ab Gwerystan, married Angharad, daughter of Maredudd ab Owen ab Howel Dda, and widow of Llewelyn ab Seissyll, 171
Bleddyn ab Cynfyn, 177, 178, 180, 182, 186
Alterations made by him in the laws of Howel Dda, 182, 183
His death, 185
Rhiwallawn ab Cynfyn, 177, 178, 180, 182
Cadwgan ab Bleddyn ab Cynfyn, 185, 189, 194, 195, 196, 197, 198, 199, 201, 203, 208, 209, 210, 211, 212, 213, 214

PAR

PARAMOUNT AND PROVINCIAL KINGS OF CUNEDDA'S RACE, *continued*—
Maredudd ab Bleddyn ab Cynfyn, 185, 189, 203, 204, 211, 215, 216, 217, 224, 225, 226, 227, 228
Llywarch ab Bleddyn ab Cynfyn, 185, 189
Gruffydd ab Bleddyn ab Cynfyn, 203
Madog ab Bleddyn ab Cynfyn, 185, 189
Rhiryd ab Bleddyn ab Cynfyn, 185, 189
Iorwerth ab Bleddyn ab Cynfyn, 185, 189, 203, 204, 211, 212, 213
Gruffydd ab Maredudd ab Bleddyn, 190, 191
Goronwy ab Cadwgan ab Bleddyn, 185, 186
Llewelyn ab Cadwgan ab Bleddyn, 185, 186
Eineon ab Cadwgan ab Bleddyn, 224, 226
Morgan ab Cadwgan ab Bleddyn, 224, 227
Maredudd ab Cadwgan ab Bleddyn, 227
Madog ab Cadwgan, 224
Owen ab Cadwgan ab Bleddyn, 208, 209, 210, 211, 212, 213, 214, 215, 216, 217, 221, 222, 224
Henry ab Cadwgan ab Bleddyn, 211
Owen Cyfeilog ab Gruffydd ab Maredudd ab Bleddyn, 242, 253, 257, 258, 259, 260, 261, 275
Meurig ab Gruffydd ab Maredudd ab Bleddyn, 242
Ithel ab Rhiryd ab Bleddyn, 209, 210, 211, 215, 226, 227
Madog ab Rhiryd ab Bleddyn, 209, 210, 211, 212, 213, 215, 216
Madog ab Maredudd ab Bleddyn, 236, 237, 242, 243, 246, 247, 250, 253
Gruffydd ab Madog ab Maredudd ab Bleddyn, 253, 257, 259, 275, 287, 293
Owen ab Madog ab Maredudd ab Bleddyn, 253, 257, 259, 260, 261
Elised ab Madog ab Maredudd ab Bleddyn, 253, 257, 259, 287
Marred ferch Madog ab Maredudd ab Bleddyn, wife of Iorwerth ab Owen Gwynedd and mother of Llewelyn ab Iorwerth, surnamed the Great, 253, 263
Madog ab Gruffydd Maelor ab Madog ab Maredudd ab Bleddyn ab Cynfyn, 293, 300, 306, 321, 334

PAR

PARAMOUNT AND PROVINCIAL KINGS OF CUNEDDA'S RACE, *continued*—
Gwenwynwyn ab Owen Cyfeiliog, 297, 298, 299, 302, 303, 304, 306, 309, 311, 315
Elis ab Madog, 301, 321
Gruffydd ab Madog ab Gruffydd Maelor, 334, 338, 339, 340, 343, 359, 361, 362, 373, 382, 388
Maredudd ab Madog, 358
Gruffydd ab Gwenwynwyn, 339, 342, 343, 353, 376, 377, 382, 386, 387, 392, 393, 394, 397, 403, 405
Owen ab Gruffydd ab Gwenwynwyn, 391, 392, 397
Rhys ab Tewdwr ab Eineon ab Owen ab Howel Dda, 186, 187, 188, 189, 190, 191, 192, 193, 208, 209
Gruffydd ab Rhys ab Tewdwr, 219, 220, 221, 223, 229, 230, 231, 232, 233
Cadell ab Gruffydd ab Rhys, 235, 236, 239, 240, 242, 243, 244, 245, 276
Anarawd ab Gruffydd ab Rhys, 235 237
Maredudd ab Gruffydd ab Rhys, 239, 240, 243, 244, 245, 246
Morgan ab Gruffydd ab Rhys, 230, 231
Maelgwn ab Gruffydd ab Rhys, 230, 231
Rhys ab Gruffydd ab Rhys (the Lord Rhys), 235, 236, 239, 240, 243, 244, 245, 246, 251, 252, 253, 254, 257, 259, 260, 261, 262, 266, 267, 268, 269, 271, 275, 276, 279, 280, 284, 285, 292, 293, 295, 296, 297, 336
Eineon ab Anarawd ab Gruffydd ab Rhys ab Tewdwr, 252, 254
Cynwrig ab Rhys ab Gruffydd, 284
Maelgwn ab Rhys ab Gruffydd, 285, 291, 293, 297, 299, 300, 302, 303, 304, 306, 307, 308, 310, 315, 319, 321, 324
Owen ab Rhys ab Gruffydd, 293
Howel ab Rhys ab Gruffydd, called Sais, 266, 293, 303
Gruffydd ab Rhys ab Gruffydd, 293, 297, 298, 299, 300, 303, 305
Madog ab Rhys ab Gruffydd, 293
Anarawd ab Rhys ab Gruffydd, 293
Rhys ab Rhys ab Gruffydd, called Rhys Fychan and Rhys Gryg, 295, 296, 300, 302, 306, 307, 310, 311, 314, 316, 317, 321, 329, 332
Maredudd ab Rhys ab Gruffydd, 295, 296, 300

PAR

Paramount and Provincial Kings of Cunedda's Race, *continued*—
Rhys ab Gruffydd ab Rhys ab Gruffydd, 300, 302, 304, 308, 310, 311, 313, 315, 318, 319
Maredudd ab Gruffydd ab Rhys ab Gruffydd, 381
Owen ab Gruffydd ab Rhys, 307, 308, 310, 313, 319, 327, 329, 334
Maredudd ab Owen ab Gruffydd ab Rhys, 352, 369, 370, 374, 407
Rhys ab Rhys Fychan and Gryg, 317, 369, 374, 382, 406, 407
Maredudd ab Rhys Fychan and Gryg, 352, 366, 367, 370, 374, 386
Howel ab Rhys, 382
Maelgwn ab Maelgwn ab Rhys ab Gruffydd, 324, 327, 329, 339, 352, 353
Rhys ab Maelgwn ab Maelgwn, 358, 406
Howel ab Maredudd ab Gruffydd ab Rhys, 353, 382
Llewelyn ab Maredudd, 377
Rhys ab Maredudd, 399, 415, 423, 424, 425
Cynan ab Maredudd ab Owen, 406
Gruffydd ab Maredudd ab Owen, 399, 406
Rhys ab Gruffydd, 401
Rhys Fychan ab Rhys ab Maelgwn, 406, 407
Gruffydd ab Rhys ab Rhys ab Maelgwn, 406
Llewelyn ab Rhys ab Rhys ab Maelgwn, 406

Paramount and Provincial Kings of Cymru, not of Cunedda's Race:
Aeddan ab Blegwryd, 162, 163
Meurig ab Arthfael, 164
Rhun, the pretended son of king Maredudd, 164

Printing: its earliest use for Wales, 490
The religious books and translations of the Scriptures printed for Wales in the sixteenth century, 490–492
And in the beginning of the seventeenth, 492–494

ROM

Roman Conquerors and Proprætors of Britain:
Julius Cæsar, 17, 18
Aulus Plautius, 18, 19
Publius Ostorius Scapula, 20, 21, 22, 23, 24, 25, 26, 27, 28
Aulus Didius Gallus, 28, 30
Didius Veranius, 30
Caius Suetonius Paulinus, 30, 31, 32, 33, 34

Roman Conquerors and Proprætors of Britain, *continued*—
Petronius Turpilianus, 34, 35
Trebellius Maximus, 35
Vectius Bolanus, 36
Petilius Cerealis, 36
Julius Frontinus, 36
Cnæus Julius Agricola, 37, 38, 39, 40, 41, 43
Sallustius Lucullus, 40
Neratius Marcellus, 42, 43
Julius Severus, 43
A. Platorius Nepos, 43
Priscus Licinius Italicus, 43
Lollius Urbicus, 43
C. Valerius Pansa, 43
Sejus Saturninus, 43
Calphurnius Agricola, 43
Ulpius Marcellus, 44
P. Helvius Pertinax, 44
Clodius Albinus, 44
Virius Lupus and Heraclytus, 45

Roman Emperors:
Augustus Cæsar, Tiberius, and Caligula, 18
Claudius, 18, 19, 28
Nero, 30, 34, 35
Galba and Otho, 35
Vitellius, 35, 36
Vespasian, 19, 36, 38
Titus, 38
Domitian, 38, 40, 41, 42
Nerva, 41
Trajan, 41, 42
Hadrian, 43, 45
Antoninus Pius, 43
Marcus Aurelius Antoninus, 43
Commodus, 44
Septimius Severus, 44, 45
Caracalla, 45, 46
Probus, 46
Diocletian, 47, 51, 53, 54
Maximian, 47, 48, 50, 51, 54, 55
Constantius Chlorus, 51, 52, 53, 54
Galerius, 53
Constantine the Great, 53, 54, 55–57
Maxentius, 55
Licinius, 56
Constantius II., 57
Constans, 57
Valentinian, 59, 60
Gratian, 60, 61
Valentinian II., 60, 62
Valens, 60
Theodosius, 60, 61, 62, 63
Eugenius, 62, 63
Honorius, 63, 64
Anthemius, 68

ROM

ROMAN EMPERORS ELECTED IN BRITAIN:
Carausius (Carawn), 47–53
Allectus, 52–53
Clemens Maximus, 60–62
Marcus, 63
Gratian Municeps, 63
Constantine, 63, 64, 66
Owen ab Maxim, 65
ROMAN EMPEROR ELECTED IN GAUL AND RECOGNIZED IN BRITAIN:
Magnentius, 57, 58

TRA

SAXON CONQUEST OF ENGLAND AND THE WELSH MARCHES, 76–120
SPORTS AND GAMES OF THE CYMRY, 473, 474

TRANSLATORS OF THE SCRIPTURES into the Welsh language, 490–494

LONDON: PRINTED BY
SPOTTISWOODE AND CO., NEW-STREET SQUARE
AND PARLIAMENT STREET

Digitized with financial assistance from the
Government of Maharashtra
on 18 July, 2018